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ART. I.—NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY HISTORICALLY
CONSIDERED.

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WHAT has come to be called New England theology has some special claims to a careful examination. It is not a provincialism, but a Biblical, and, historically considered, a broad and truly Catholic theology. No period of equal length, since the apostolic, has been marked by more earnestness in the ministry, or higher mental and moral culture. None has been distinguished by more thorough Biblical study, or profounder theologic thought. None has been at a greater remove from vassalage to the schools, except to that in which Christ is the Teacher; less wedded to a dead logic, or more at one with the divine reason,—the living Logos in the theopneustic Word, and the believing heart of the Church. Further, the materials for a constructive hand are ample and within reach, though fast being consumed by the teeth of time. There are many works of more or less value on the general church history of New England; but besides a few pamphlets and periodical essays, there is not, we believe, a single treatise on the history of its

doctrines. The limits of this article will allow us only a glimpse of the earlier portion of this history.

But what is meant by New England theology? By what logical and chronological termini is it bounded?

For the most expanded definition which we have met, we are indebted to a distinguished theological writer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. "It signifies," he says, "the formal creed which a majority of the most eminent theologians in New England have explicitly or implicitly sanctioned, during and since the time of Edwards. It denotes the spirit and genius of the system, openly avowed or logically involved in their writings." "It includes not the peculiarities in which any one of his followers differed, as some of them did, from the larger part of the others; but it comprehends the principles, with their logical sequences, which the greater number of our most celebrated divines have approved expressly or by implication." "It was first called New-light Divinity, then New Divinity, afterwards Edwardean, more recently Hopkintonian or Hopkinsian."*

Parts of this definition are just, and tend to free the subject from the confusion and mistakes in which it is often involved. It is certain that New England theology does not consist in what is *peculiar* to Pres. Edwards, or any one of his followers, as what is *peculiar* cannot also be common. Nor for the same reason can it consist in those points in which any one of his followers differed from the others, although these idiosyncrasies are sometimes mistaken for that substance of doctrine, of which they are often only unseemly excrescences. But it is equally evident that "the formal creed" which goes back only to "the time of Edwards," comprehends historically but a fraction of the New England theology, and therefore allows only a partial view of the subject. It includes less than half of the historic period of the New England churches, and leaves out of account some of their noblest divines. These churches had a theology in their earlier as well as in their later history, substantial, Biblical, and well defined. And the definition that shuts out

* *New England Theology*. By Edwards A. Park. *Bibliotheca Sacra*. Vol. 9, p. 174.

the one hundred and thirty years of the earlier, and limits New England theology to the one hundred of the later history, is essentially defective.

We cherish Jonathan Edwards with reverent respect as an acute metaphysician—a profound Christian thinker. The great truths of the Gospel, as he found them in the Bible and the Christian consciousness, became in his personal experience a living realism. God wrought them as life-forces into the very centre of his soul, and they subdued and fashioned into the divine likeness his whole mental and spiritual being. Then, by the grasp of his giant intellect, he lifted them up from under the feet of trampling foes, separated them from corrupting accretions, and in the fervor of his warm heart breathed them forth afresh to the world in new forms of logic and of love. But we cannot accept him as the *father* or founder of New England theology. It is older than Edwards, and made him, and not he it. It is the parent and he the offspring.

Upon this restricted view of the subject rests the statement that New England theology “was first called New-Light Divinity, and then New Divinity.” When the Pilgrim Fathers came to New England they brought their theology with them, which they first called, sometimes the Reformed, sometimes the Puritan, and sometimes Calvinistic. And nearly a hundred years before the term “New-Light” was applied to it, the churches and ministers adopted the Westminster Confession as the symbol of their theology, and its witness both as to its Biblical and historical character.

Accepting, however, what aid the above definition brings us, we suggest the following as briefer, and perhaps better meeting the demands of the subject.

New England theology is that system of Christian doctrine which has been continuously held by the Congregational churches of New England generally, and been taught by a majority of their pastor and teachers.

This gives the entire historic period, and lays open the whole field. It indicates the precise nature of the inquiry as simply a question of fact. It leaves nothing to conjecture or speculation. There is little room for logic and less for origin

ality. We are not required to *make* a New England theology, nor permitted even to mend it, should that seem practicable. As historians we are to show what it is, how it came to be what it is, and how it has operated. This will require us carefully to separate from the system, not only what is heterogeneous, but what is simply incidental to it. It also demands the impartial historic conscience, lest the results should be vitiated by dogmatic preferences.

A reference to two or three preliminary principles will facilitate our more full entrance upon the subject.

First, *Development in Theology*. We refer to none of those processes of spontaneous generation by which theological systems are produced out of the nebulous matter, which revolves confusedly in the brain of seers, revelators, and speculatists. All true development starts from a given doctrine in the infallible Scriptures, and nothing can be evolved which is not there involved. The legitimate church doctrine is all in the Bible, and has been always there. "The true idea of Scriptural development," says Trench, "is that the Church, informed and quickened by the Spirit of God, more and more discovers what in the Holy Scriptures is given her. She has always possessed what she now possesses of doctrine and truth, only not always with the same distinctness of consciousness. She has not added to her wealth, but she has become more and more aware of that wealth; she has consolidated her doctrine, compelled thereto by the provocation of enemies, or induced to it by the growing sense of her own needs."* With this idea of development and progress in theology, the fathers of New England were perfectly familiar. They held it as fundamental. It was their main motive to thorough study of the Bible. It constituted the reason for their separation from those who trusted more to the magic of forms, and prelatial dicta, than to the divine word. Theology is developed, as each generation brings out into more regenerative fullness and force the purely Bible doctrine, as it takes to itself more and more the genuine out-

* *Hulsean Lectures*, p. 76.

growths of the Christian Scriptures, and casts away the noxious accretions and *misgrowths*.

2. The use of theological *terms*. The same truths are sometimes expressed in such different language, that they seem like different doctrines, and opposing doctrines are often presented in a diction so similar that they appear identical. Arius and Pelagius gave striking examples of versatility in a refracted and equivocal use of theological language; while Athanasius and Augustine, Luther and Calvin taught the Bible doctrines of the Trinity, Divine Sovereignty, and Man's Dependence, in terms which have been erroneously taken to imply Tritheism, that God is a tyrant, and man a machine. And why? Partly because those who thus judged did not well know what tritheism and fatalism are, and partly because they did not take into account the changes which language undergoes in the progress of the ages. They failed to observe that the contents of the earlier theologic language is, without loss, transferred into the forms of the later; a process by which old truths, and even Christianity itself, passes down through the successive generations in vehicles that change, while itself is changeless. In disregard of this, the free will which Augustine opposed has been mistaken for that freedom of the will which Edwards maintained; while it was only another term for that plenary ability to good which they both were agreed in discarding. For the same reason, the phrases, "the guilt of Adam's first sin"—"sinned in him," and the term *imputation*, as employed in the Calvinistic system, have been construed as teaching the literal transfer of Adam's sin, as a personal *act*, to his posterity; while it was the sinful *nature* induced by that "act" which, according to the divine covenant and the law of reproduction, was transmitted from father to son "by ordinary generation." The framers of that admirable compend, the Shorter Catechism, held no such pantheistic absurdity as the *personal* unity of the human race—the identity of the progenitor and the progeny, that they acted in him before they existed; though they did teach the Pauline doctrine of a generic unity of the race, and the representative position and character of the first man. Calvin explicitly denies that the personal guilt of Adam,

as an individual, pertains to his posterity. He says, on the contrary, that they "are rendered obnoxious to punishment by their *own* sinfulness, and not, as if they were innocent, by the sinfulness of another;" that "Adam's sin is imputed to them, because he infected all his descendants with the corruption into which he had fallen."* God imputed Adam's sin to his posterity, says Edwards, by giving them a sinful nature like his. That nature was reckoned to him, because by his sin it came upon him; and to them, because, for the same reason, it came upon them.

3. The *derivative* character of theology. There are certain patronymics which, when applied to a doctrine or system, denote its pedigree and family relations, and hence its derivative character. For this reason, with nothing of the *odium theologicum*, the best writers speak of some doctrines as Arian or Sabellian, some as Pelagian or Arminian, and of others as Augustinian, Lutheran or Calvinistic. The history of doctrines discloses the existence of two great families in theology, the *Pistis* and the *Gnosis*, the believing and the speculative. The one does not embrace all the truth, nor the other all the error. There is some faith among the speculative, and some idealism among the believing. The derivative character of the one leads along the line of an illustrious descent, to its origin with the apostles and their Lord. The lineal branches of the other came to an end some centuries this side of the apostolic age, in Sabellius or Socinus, Arius or Arminius, whose substantive doctrine, so far as not derived from Scripture, was original, and because original, erroneous. A desire to be the originator of essentially new Christian doctrines has ever been a leading cause of corruption in theology. It is the great practical error, the original sin, by which the race fell. Hence the propagators of *such* original theology must be reputed as in regular succession from that distinguished preacher whose first converts were made in Eden.

It is with respect to its derivative character, that the term Calvinian or Calvinistic has been so generally applied to New

* *Institutes*, Book ii. Chap. 1, Sec. 6 and 8.

England Theology. It has acknowledged the Genevan divine as a clear, faithful, and at his time, greatly needed expounder of the Bible doctrines. Luther opened the door of the reformation. He assailed the veteran errors of the Romish church, which had cast down the more veteran truths. He took the divine Word out of the dead languages, and from under the ban of papal interdiction, and gave it to the people in their own tongue, free as the air they breathed. He made catechisms for the children and hymns for the aged, and called men back from the Pope to Christ. "Every thing in the Lutheran movement proceeded," says Neander, "from Christ as the central point." But he lacked constructive skill. He was mercurial in temperament, sometimes rash; and in matters of ecclesiastical reform, went only half way from the Breviary to the Bible.

Calvin took up the Reformation where Luther left it. His first work was to give an apologetic statement of the Bible doctrines. But his great work was to obtain correct principles of exegesis, and by these a pure interpretation of Scripture. He examined the various hermeneutical systems, from the *three* senses of the sacred books, held by Philo and Origen, to the theory of seven, taught by Angelome, and found them fanciful. They were in his judgment only so many processes of *eisegesis*, by which the Bible can be made to have as many senses as its interpreter wishes, and to give out just the meaning which he puts into it. He eschewed all this as putting man's mind in the place of God's. If God has buried his will in three, four, or more, occult senses of Scripture, which must be successfully stripped off as husks from corn, or as resinous dressings from a mummy, before it can be reached by his erring children, the Bible is not so much a revelation of that will, as its concealment. Calvin's common-sense decided against all this as reflecting on the paternal wisdom and love of God. He tried the simpler and easier method of supposing that the Bible has a meaning—a definite, divine content, easily apprehended by those who are willing to take it as a rule of faith and guide to heaven. Hence, in ascertaining that meaning, he sought for the genuine, *native* import of the lan-

guage. He combined the grammatical and the historical construction, the literal and the figurative. He took into account the subject-matter of revelation, its drift, and the necessity of a similarity of moral state between the author and the students of the Book. Then applying the rule of Melancthon, "*Coelestis veritas simplissima est, quam collatis Scripturis e filo ductuque orationis licet assequi,*" he made the Bible its own interpreter. This was Calvin's key to the Scriptures, and a critical examination of his voluminous commentaries will show with what scrupulous care he applied it. He bent nothing to suit a philosophy; he twisted nothing in support of a dogma; he forced nothing, but took for his doctrine and philosophy just what the Bible and the whole Bible gave him. "This great merit," says an honest but not over-friendly critic, "lies in a comparative neglect of dogma."

The *Institutes*, though apologetic at first, as matured, was constructed on the idea of a pure interpretation of Scripture. He drew out the divine contents of the Word, and placed them in such life-relations of harmony, logical, moral, and æsthetic, as evinced the doctrines of revelation, like every thing else which God has given, to be subject to heaven's first law of order. And it is the purely Biblical elements which gave it such an attractive and formative influence over thinking minds and loving hearts in that period of struggle for the higher life, and has given it the same influence in similar struggles. It is the judgment of history, approved by no partial arbiters, that Calvin "seized the idea of reformation as a real *renovation* of human character;" "that the moral purification of humanity, as the original idea of Christianity, is the guiding idea of his system;" that it was "strong in the possession of the exalted idea of moral duty and purity of life," and hence "tended to take up into itself all the moral worth existing any where in Protestantism."*

It is in this broad view that New England theology takes John Calvin into its genealogical line, as also the more conveniently to distinguish itself from the various laxer branches

* *Westminster Review*, No. 137.

of the theological family. But it endows him with no supernatural illumination, except as regeneration is supernatural; and it invests him with no Rabbinical authority, but places all authority in matters of faith where he placed it, in the Word of God. It holds him as a man, and no more; erring, and, as having actually erred, in many things; yet not so grossly as his enemies aver, the formula of whose antipathetic faith is, "Calvin burnt Servetus." This, however, he did not do. Nor did he even approve of it. When he heard that the Assembly had decided upon it, he made the most strenuous efforts to prevent it by the substitution of a milder form of punishment. It was the error of the age, and not any special severity of the individuals, from which the Reformer had not at that time wholly escaped, but from which, later, his principles effected an entire deliverance in that religious tolerance of which the Calvinists of Holland made the first experiments.

In regard to the derivative character of New England theology, the following particulars will disclose its relation to the Calvinistic family, and lead to its rise as New England.

1. The influence of the school at Geneva, and of the *Institutes*, became a formative force in no small part of the Protestant communion. In Switzerland and large portions of Germany, in Holland, Scotland, and England, it awakened the interior life of religion against an oppressive external rule. It presented a living divine Word as the regenerative instrument, instead of a code of dead papal decrees. It developed God's truths in the hearts of the people, to the ejection of man's lies. So repressive was it of the reactionary vigor of the Romish church, which followed the Reformation, and so wakeful at the watch-fires of freedom, that even its enemies admit that "Calvinism saved Europe."

2. The English Reformers were of the Calvinistic school in theology. The Thirty-Nine articles drawn up by the Convocation in 1562, were framed, in some parts almost *verbatim*, from the catechism of the Genevan teacher. The *Institutes* was adopted as a text-book in the Universities, "being read," says Neal, "publicly in the schools, by appointment of the Convocation." "The Articles of the Church of England were thought

by all men, hitherto, to favor the explication of Calvin."* In the reign of James I., Peter Heylin represents two divines who had embraced the Arminian doctrines, as like Elijah, who regarded himself as left alone to oppose a whole world of idolaters.

Unfortunately, the English Reformers were obliged to establish their doctrinal system in a church, that was not only under episcopal jurisdiction, but so wedded to the state that the temporal prince was equally the head of both. The strong tendency of the reformed doctrine to civil and religious freedom brought it into conflict with the royal and prelatical assumptions of despotic power. James said in the Hampton Court Conference: "If the Non-Conformists are allowed, I know what will become of my supremacy; for, no bishop, no king: I will therefore have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance and ceremony. I will *make* them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse."†

3. The Puritans were in doctrinal harmony with the English Reformers and the standards of the English Church. "All the Protestant divines in the church," says Neal, "whether Puritans or others, seemed of one mind hitherto, about the doctrines of faith."‡ It was not from the doctrines of the established church that the Puritans dissented, but from a politico-priestly dictatorship, which decided the garb of the preacher to be more important than the Gospel, forms to be more vital than faith; which placed the decrees of the king above those of the King of kings. Against this they maintained a living and most salutary protestation.

4. The settlers of New England were in theological agreement with the Puritans who remained in Old England. They were of that branch called Independents or Congregational Brethren.

Robinson, a part of whose church came in the May-Flower to Plymouth in 1620, abandoned the established church and his fellowship in the university in 1604. During his residence

* Neal's *History of the Puritans*, i. pp. 109, 110.

† Neal, i. p. 232.

‡ Neal, i. p. 209.

in Holland, the Arminian controversy arose. He was at Leyden when the States-General, in 1609, attempted to secure a conference with Arminius, and an open avowal of his opinions. On the election of Episcopius, the distinguished disciple of Arminius, to the professorship in the Leyden University, Robinson attended his lectures, and made himself thoroughly acquainted with his system. Then he brought both sides to the tests of Christian experience and the Word of God, and became more than ever convinced of the correctness of the Calvinistic doctrines. His acquaintance with Biblical and historical theology, and his power of clear and conclusive reasoning, called him into a kind of leadership. A man was needed who could stand up in oral debate with the corypheus of the new theology. At the earnest solicitation of his friends in the university he consented to meet Episcopius in a public discussion. For three days the old and the new theologies tried their forces on the field of Biblical and philosophic conflict, and with such results as proved the inexpediency of attempting to put new wine into old bottles, and kept many who had drank old wine from straightway desiring the new, for they said the old was better.

It has been claimed that John Robinson belonged to the progress-party in theology, was "extremely liberal in his ideas," and that, had he lived in the nineteenth instead of the seventeenth century, he would have been a Unitarian. That he was "liberal" in the sense of large-minded and of a truly catholic and charitable spirit, and made some advance upon his age in matters of church government and religious toleration, is readily admitted. But his discussion with Episcopius and his *Defense of the Doctrine of the Synod at Dort*, in historical fairness, remove all doubt respecting the complexion of his theology. They place him in direct antagonism to the Pelagian and Arminian tendencies of that and of every other age. They show that he regarded all movement in that direction as retrogressive, and that the further light, which he taught the Plymouth pilgrims might break from the Scriptures, would be confirmatory of that which, for sixteen centu-

ries had been shining out from them—in short, that it would be *light*.

Brewster, Bradford and Carver, the leaders of the Plymouth movement, were of one heart and mind with Robinson. They received the doctrines of the Gospel generally as presented by Calvin and the Synod of Dort, with an intelligent and practical earnestness. Thus the first of the New England churches stands out distinctively as Congregational and Calvinistic.

The second company that arrived at Salem, 1629, with Higginson, Skelton, and Endicott at their head, symbolized in doctrine with the Puritans whom they left in Old England and the Pilgrims whom they found in New England. So did their successors who settled in Boston and vicinity, and those who went on into Connecticut. The Confessions of Faith adopted by the first churches in Connecticut, says Trumbull, were "strictly Calvinistic."

We are thus brought by a simple historical process to what we may call the derivation, or rise of New England theology. Two events will disclose the provisions made for its preservation and purity—the endowment of a *College* and the adoption of a common *Creed*.

Education, in the sense of a thoroughly liberal culture, is a natural outgrowth of the Puritan theology, as it is of the Christian Scriptures. It tends to develop the primal and higher elements of human nature, by the moral forces of the divine.

The polity of Calvin, it is admitted by the Anti-Calvinistic *Westminster Review*, "was a vigorous effort to supply what the revolutionary movement wanted—a positive education for the *individual soul*. Government, at Geneva, was not police but *education*—self-government mutually enforced by equals upon equals."* And Cotton Mather states, that "the primitive Christians were not more prudently careful to settle schools for the education of persons to succeed the more immediately inspired ministry of the Apostles, and such as had been ordained by the Apostles, than the Christians in the

* No. 137.

most early times of New England were to form a college, wherein a succession of a learned and an able ministry might be educated.”*

Hence, as early as 1636, the General Courts of the Massachusetts Colony appropriated four hundred pounds “towards the building of something to begin a college.” Two years later, John Harvard, a minister of Charlestown, died, from whom the college took its name, because he left the larger part of his estate, about eight hundred pounds, for the same purpose. *Christo et Ecclesiae*, was the motto given to the new institution, and “the promotion of piety and godliness,” its main end. And the founders firmly believed that a sound Scriptural theology was the fittest means to this end. President Quincy, in his *History of Harvard College*, intimates that they did not establish it, as we may suppose they would have done, on the distinctive Puritan theology. “We should expect,” he says, “on opening its several charters, to find it with certainty, anchored, head and stern, secure against wind, tide and current, more firmly on all the points which at that day were deemed fixed and immutable.” A professor in Yale College, reviewing the book, pertinently remarks: “And on inquiry, no disappointment follows. The most unqualified Calvinism was introduced into the College for the purpose of promoting ‘piety and godliness;’ and the whole institution was placed under the care of a clergy thoroughly Calvinistic. Calvinism may have gradually vanished from Harvard, but the founders, notwithstanding, may have done whatsoever they thought necessary, or whatsoever they could have done to perpetuate it.”†

New England’s free schools, equally with its colleges, are the product of its theology. The minister and the school-master, the meeting-house and the school-house from the beginning have been coincident, often identical in its history. Its theology has ever maintained a persistent war with ignorance as the mother of error and vice, and therefore it places

* *Magnalia*, i, p. 6.

† *Biblical Repository*, No. 44, p. 387.

an open Bible in the hands of the people. It lays its account with intelligence, and creates both demand and supply, particularly in the ministry.

Hence, the theological institutions of New England, as well as its free schools and colleges, are the product of its theology. It taxes largely the reflective and rational powers, and by the sublimest problems of ethical and theologic science stimulates and develops them into the most successful activities. By restricting the human processes to achievements fairly within the province of the finite powers, it prevents the waste of these powers; and by subordinating its processes to the divine reason, it is in the highest degree rational, yet, at a great remove from Rationalism. It is not a pool within which lazy pilgrims may bathe, and part with nothing but "the filthiness of the flesh," but a spring of clear, running water, ever fresh and full for thirsty souls. Nor is it a dead dogma, a stereotyped *summa theologiæ*, but the living product of the earlier ages, not inapposite to the later; a *via vitæ*, in which each soul must walk for itself; a divine science which every disciple must learn by living it. By making a new life its starting point in education, and moral perfection its goal, the New England theology puts the whole man into the process, and continues him in it till old things have passed away and all things have become new.

As a truly catholic theology, its history takes in the most divinely patient sufferers and the most heroic actors. It has produced, as well the most effective workers in the vineyard of the Lord, as the most humble and spiritual worshippers in his temples. The dark ages came on as the light of Christ's primal doctrines was eclipsed by the miasms of the speculative philosophy, and of a sensuous, self-aggrandizing unbelief. As these great truths have shone out again, the ages have become bright in their divine lustre.

The formal *installation* of this theology as New England, took place in the adoption of the Westminster Confession of Faith by the Synod at Cambridge, in 1648. This Confession had just been issued in England, combining the results of the

best exegetical, historical and experimental theology of the seventeen preceding centuries. They tried it thoroughly by the Scriptures as the only authoritative source of doctrine. They also tested its principles by antiquity, and found them no older than the New Testament, and no newer than the New. Its chief doctrines they discovered to be grounded on the great facts of history, and the laws of divine Providence. Starting from the most ancient times, they had taken up into themselves of the good and true, the best contributions of the successive periods. The streams of Christian life which have been deepening and widening in their course, had flowed mainly through channels which these principles had laid open. The moral greenness, fertility and beauty which have gladdened the earth, had sprung up along their banks; while the opposite principles led the student of history through the stagnated life-blood of the church, to its grave-yards and charnel-houses, and employed him with dismal post-mortem examinations.

The result of this careful scrutiny is stated in the Preface to the Cambridge Platform. "This Synod, having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith published of late by the reverend Assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith; and do therefore freely and fully consent thereunto, for the substance thereof. Only, in those things which have respect to church government and discipline, we refer ourselves to the Platform of Church Discipline, agreed upon by this Assembly. And being likewise called upon by our godly magistrates to draw up a public confession of that faith which is constantly taught and generally professed among us; we thought good to present unto them, and with them to our churches, and with them to all the churches of Christ abroad, our professed and hearty assent and attestation to the whole Confession of Faith (for substance of doctrine), which the reverend Assembly presented to the religious and honorable Parliament of England."*

* Cambridge and Saybrook Platform, pp. 13, 14.

This symbol becomes now the accredited exponent of the New England Theology. It was taken as a public confession of that faith which was then "constantly taught and generally professed in New England," and as very "holy, orthodox, and judicious." As such it was adopted by the General Court and the churches. It is not indigenous, but after the sojourn of a quarter of a century it was formally naturalized. Its generation lies back among the facts of primal history; but its regeneration here, as evinced in the Christian faith and life of our fathers, constituted it a native of New England, as by such re-births it is yet to become cosmopolitan. It is identical with the standards of both branches of the Presbyterian Church in America, and in substantial agreement with the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Episcopal Church in this country and in England.

The adoption of this formula of faith in 1648 closed what may be regarded as the first period in the history of New-England Theology. Though the churches were harmonious in recognizing this digest of Christian doctrines as the practical and living faith that governed them, and though the period was distinguished by a degree of social purity and public morality, as the result of its doctrines, exceeded in no age or community, yet some disturbing elements appeared in it, growing out of the lingering errors of the past, or the prejudices and the passions of men. Three of these, from their connection with the theology of New England, and the character of the early churches, deserve a passing notice.

1st. The seditious movements of Roger Williams. Mr. Williams came to Plymouth in 1630; and after remaining there two or three years, and producing disturbance, he removed to Salem and became minister of the church there. His offenses, for which he was banished, were not religious, as is often represented, but political, and struck at the very existence of the body politic. He denied the validity of the charter from which the government derived its being, and which gave legal authority to its acts. He refused the oath of allegiance, and taught others to do the same. He instigated Endicott, a magistrate and a member of his church, to cut the cross out of the national flag, which waved as a sign of the au-

thority of the Colonial Government and of its loyalty to the sovereign. These were the crimes, for persistency in which he was removed from the colony. And according to the most enlightened sentiments of that age or this, was there not, in his offenses and their infantile weakness, a cause? "Can we blame the Massachusetts Colony," says the Honorable John Quincy Adams, "for banishing him from within their jurisdiction? In the annals of religious persecution, is there to be found a martyr more gently dealt with by those against whom he began the war of intolerance, whose authority he persisted, even after professions of penitence and submission, in defying, till deserted even by the wife of his bosom; and whose utmost severity of punishment upon him was only an order for his removal as a nuisance from among them?"

Connected with these political heresies, were various religious notions and practices, which verify Cotton Mather's representation of him as "a preacher that had less *light* than *fire* in him." He demanded that the Colonial churches should renounce all communion with the English Church; and when they would not, he enjoined upon his church to refuse fellowship with them. And when crossed here, he excommunicated his own church so far as he had power, by refusing to administer to it the Lord's Supper, or to commune with it. And because his wife would not follow him in all this, but continued to worship with the church, he renounced fellowship with her also. He withdrew himself from all Christians of the age as having lost the grace of faith and love, and he conceived, says Hubbard, "that God would raise up new apostles, and expected to be one himself."

2. The Antinomianism of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson.

Mrs. Hutchinson was the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson, and for a time was in good repute. She established a meeting in her own house, at which she re-preached the sermons she heard from the ministers at the Thursday lecture and on the Sabbath, with her improvements and applications. Gradually her sense of the importance of her mission increased, and of her qualifications for accomplishing it, until it grew into the claim of a divine commission and of supernatural revelations. Her errors were of the Antinomian type—that sanctification

or personal holiness is no evidence of justification ; that assurance is by immediate revelation, or the conscious indwelling of the Holy Spirit ; that there is no such thing as inherent righteousness in believers, but only a putative one ; and that revelations were given to her, and might be expected by those who receive her doctrines ; and that these are of equal authority with the Scriptures.

As Mr. Cotton, and the majority of the church in Boston of which she was a member, at first, from misapprehension, agreed with her in the main, the theological questions were referred to a General Council, which met at Newtown, in August, 1637. In the result, various opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson and others were condemned as erroneous and injurious. All signed it but Mr. Cotton, who, however, disliked them all, except two or three, and regarded some of them as absurd and even blasphemous.

Mrs. Hutchinson continued persistent and progressive in her course. She left the meetings of the church, and set up what she regarded as a purer doctrine and worship in her own house. At length she was put on trial before the court, where she declared her revelations, in which it was made known to her that she "should be delivered and the court ruined with their posterity." She was then pronounced "unfit for their society," and required to leave the colony. The trial by the church, which followed, was protracted, and marked by great leniency, and attended by the personal efforts of some of the most excellent ministers and laymen in the colony, but with no satisfactory results.

In obedience to the injunction of the court, she removed to Rhode Island. There she remained two or three years, when, after the death of her husband, from discontent with the people or the place, or with both, she went to the Dutch country beyond New Haven. The next year, she and all her family, which were with her, being sixteen in number, were killed by the Indians, except one daughter, who was carried into captivity.*

* Hutchinson's History, i. p. 72

It was a sad termination of the earthly career of one whose introduction to the colony was so full of promise, but whom unwomanly ambition and the adulation of the weak made mutinous against the wisdom of the ancients, and desirous of theological leadership. The abundance of her revelations exalted her above measure. But the issue is impressively cautionary to those who cry, "Revelation!" "The Spirits!" and set these up against the lessons of history and the Bible. It pronounces her imprecatory utterances respecting the court and the Church mere fantasies—only the expectations and *desires* of the revelator. It places them with like minatory visions and revelations of Manes, Montanus, Münzer, George Fox, Swedenborg, and the seers of modern spiritism, who say, "The Lord saith, and the Lord hath not sent them," who "follow their own spirit and have seen nothing." The ruin which she denounced against the court and the churches, in the course of divine Providence, came upon herself and her family; and the deliverance which she expected, was signally bestowed upon them, in a history of two centuries of almost unexampled divine favor.

Time, the trier of all things, proves how perilous to one's reputation for intellectual and moral soundness are all such revelations and predictions concerning the expiration of the old doctrines and the destruction of the old church. There have been very many of them during the Christian centuries, from those who have said: "That which they build, if a fox go up, he shall even break down their stone wall." But they have always failed, and discredited the head or heart of their authors, and signally disproved their claim to divine commission. The church meanwhile has lived on. It extends itself every year with its time-tried doctrines into a diviner beneficence and beauty. It takes stronger hold of the fallen race of man. It roots itself deeper and deeper in the heart of humanity, vitalizing it more and more with faith and love, and lifting it up to heaven and God.

3. The last of the three causes of disturbance, which arose in the first period of New-England theology, was more pro-

tracted in its duration and pernicious in its effects—the principle of *church membership*, as essential to the rights of freemen.

It was ordered by the Court of the Massachusetts Colony, in 1631, that none but church members should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic. The effect of this order was hardly so much to unite the Church and State as to make them identical. The reasons for this order are found, partly in their idea of government as a theocracy, according to which the civil and spiritual powers were brought into organic unity. Our fathers wished to have a Christian State, as well as a Christian Church. But they did not see that a corporate union, an identical membership, would defeat rather than secure their object. They were led to this course in part, also, by a class of malcontents who were displeased with the constitution and government, both of the church and the state, and who, had they been admitted to either, might have sought a reconstruction of both, after the model of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud in England.

In 1646, those who were aggrieved by this law petitioned to the Court to be admitted to the rights and privileges of citizenship, or to be released from taxation. The petition was not granted. But when, a little later, the baptized children, if unregenerate at their majority, found themselves ineligible, not only to office, but even to membership in the state, the real difficulties began to appear. The next movement was made from this point of view. It was claimed that all baptized persons, not scandalous in life, were members of the church, and therefore entitled to the rights of freemen. The Court looked upon this with more favor; and, as it was an ecclesiastical question, assembled a Council of the churches for its consideration. The Council, which met at Boston in June, 1657, allowed the claim as reasonable, and proposed to repair the wrong by letting the aggrieved into the state through the door of the church. But their judgment was not approved by the churches, and the question continued unsettled till the Synod of 1662. Then it was decided that “confederate, visi-

ble believers in particular churches, and their infant seed, are church members"—that the "infant seed, when grown up, continue members of the Church, and under its watch, discipline, and government." And, further, that, if understanding the doctrine of faith, they gave their assent to it, and owned the covenant, and were not scandalous in life, they could claim baptism for their children, and thus secure membership in the church for them also.* In this manner they shut themselves up logically to baptismal regeneration, or to the legitimacy of church membership for the unregenerate.

In these early proceedings originated what is known as the Half-Way Covenant. To mitigate the evils of a political mistake, in 1631, the fathers of New-England made a far more serious ecclesiastical one in 1662. They virtually removed the door of the church from its hinges, to make a highway for men of the world into the state. It was a backward step towards the Romish idea that baptism constitutes church membership. It transferred the work of the church from the conversion of men to the regulation of their manners. It reversed the order of all life-processes, and sought to change the nature of the evil tree by chemical experiments upon the fruit. As a consequence, conversions decreased, both of the baptized and the unbaptized, and the unregenerate membership came at length to exceed the regenerate. Baptism was administered with increasing frequency to the children of those whose only claim to church membership was that they owned the covenant and were not openly immoral. Meanwhile, as this class did not come to the Lord's Supper, the number of those in the church who received that ordinance was constantly diminishing.

This was felt to be an alarming evil, and to require a speedy removal. How shall these unregenerate members become regenerate—these dead branches be quickened into life and fruitfulness? Some saw the remedy, and gave themselves to more earnest preaching of the Word, and to prayer for a fresh baptism of the Spirit. But others were led along on the sliding-

* Mather's *Magnalia*, ii. pp. 339-40.

scale of error from the mistake of the Half-Way Covenant to another not less injurious—the converting efficacy of the Lord's Supper. Mr. Stoddard of Northampton, Mass., settled in 1670, was among the first of the ministers who openly inculcated this doctrine. This broke down the only visible distinction that remained between the church and the world. The plea for it was, that the thorn tree will produce grapes by being planted in the vineyard of the Lord, and the thistle, figs; that goats will be changed into sheep, if they are permitted to feed with them in their pastures, and to lie down in the same fold. The number of communicants was, indeed, increased by this measure, but through a process that brought the disease which needed to be removed much nearer the heart of the suffering patient. The duty of professing faith and piety naturally ceased with men who knew that they could not profess either without perjury. And yet, by a logical necessity of this theological error, such men were urged to come to the communion as a means of obtaining both. Thus the Half-Way Covenant ran into a way of taking the whole covenant, by those who did not profess to keep any part of it.

But those who expected that this second error would correct the evils of the first, were disappointed. The thorn still brought forth only thorns, and the thistle only thistles. The lion did not become a lamb by feeding on its food. The dead could only bury their dead. The unregenerate were in nothing improved by becoming communicants, while the condition of the churches was, in many respects, made worse by it. For the non-professing church members were now admitted to an equal voice with the regenerate in the choice of the pastors; and from these also, as from the others, the churches drew their supply of candidates for the ministry.

One step more in this downward direction brings us to the last of the three practical errors, the germs of which are found in the first period of New-England history. This was termed "the acceptableness of unregenerate doings," the doctrine that unrenewed men from the impulses of self-love can use the means of regeneration in a manner pleasing to God, and suited to secure their salvation. This, with the other two, constitutes

that trinity of error which first secularized a part of the New England churches, and then corrupted their theology. Their developments required time and space. But their logical connection is a matter almost of intuition. The first brought into the churches a class of unconverted men. The second ascribed a converting efficacy to the Lord's Supper, and administered the ordinance to them as a means of their regeneration. This failing, the third imputed a recuperative power to self-love, placed its stimulated activities among the means of grace, and pronounced them acceptable to God. These all grew in the same field with the New England theology, but it was as the tares among wheat, from the sowings of "an enemy." They were in direct opposition to the Puritan theology, and to the formulas adopted by the Synod in 1648.

In respect to the first of these errors, John Owen says: "The letting go this principle, that particular churches ought to consist of regenerate persons, brought in the great apostasy of the Christian Church."

The Cambridge platform teaches that "the matter of a visible Church are saints by calling," "such as have not only attained to the knowledge of the principles of religion, and are free from errors and open scandal, but also do, together with the *profession* of their faith and repentance, walk in blameless obedience to the Word, so that in charitable discretion they may be accounted saints by calling."* The Confession of Faith holds, in regard to the second of these errors, that our Lord substituted the Sacrament of the Supper for "the showing forth of the sacrifice of himself in his death, the sealing of all benefits thereof unto true believers, and their spiritual nourishment and growth in him."† And concerning the works of the unregenerate, the third, the Confession is very explicit, that "because they proceed not from a heart purified by faith, nor are done in a right manner according to the Word of God, nor to a right end, the glory of God, they are therefore sinful, and cannot please God, nor make a man meet to receive grace from him, yet their neglect of them is more sinful and displeasing to God."‡

* Chap. 3.

† Chap. 30.

‡ Chap. 16.

Against these clear principles of the established theology, the development of the Half-Way Covenant, though favored by a strong political interest, was slow, and met with much opposition. It received a powerful check in the great awakening during the time of Edwards and Whitefield, and from the practical and polemical treatises of Edwards, Bellamy, and Hopkins, which followed it. It was a noble protest that these three heroic men entered, against the withering, wasting evil, a valiant fight in which they engaged. Edwards, in consequence, was driven out of Northampton, as, in defence of the same principles, two hundred years before, Calvin and Farel were out of Geneva.

But the evil had taken too deep root to be easily eradicated. It had strengthened with a century's growth, and came to its blossoming time in the dissent from New England theology, which began near the close of the last century. And it is bearing ripe fruit in that "Suspense of Faith" which is completing itself in the Unitarianism of the present century. When churches come to include a major part of unregenerate communicants, they naturally set aside the formulas of faith, to whose verity and value only the life of faith can give a positive testimony or appreciate it when given. Between a spiritually dead soul and the living truths of the Christian system, there can be only antagonism. If the doctrine does not transform and vitalize those who profess it, the incongruity of the profession, together with their natural repugnance to the doctrines, will first express themselves in painful doubts, and then seek relief in denial. Thus a few have been occasionally going out from the Evangelical churches of New-England and from the living church in every land, because they were not of it.

ART. II.—HICKOK'S RATIONAL COSMOLOGY.

By Prof. J. BASCOM, Williams College, Mass.

Rational Cosmology; or, The Eternal Principles and the Necessary Laws of the Universe. By LAURENS P. HICKOK, D.D., Union College. New-York: D. Appleton & Co. 1858. 8vo, pp. 397.

IN the review of a book so far removed from ordinary lines of thought, as this *Rational Cosmology*, we cannot presume on that familiarity with the themes discussed which usually makes the remarks of the critic intelligible, with but a slight presentation of the views of the author. If what we are to say on the several points that shall present themselves, is to be generally understood in its relation to the work of Dr. Hickok, it must frequently be accompanied by a compendious exposition of his opinions. This we shall often find a matter of much difficulty, as the subjects, recondite in themselves and wrought by a masterly mind, do not readily admit of clear and correct statements more succinct than those of the book itself. We shall aim, however, to accompany our remarks by explanations sufficient to make this article by itself intelligible.

The introduction opens with a brief and clear discussion of facts and principles, and then proceeds to give a rapid historical sketch of philosophic thought. This last is somewhat of a favorite preliminary with the author, and the region of Grecian philosophy and German subtleties is made an arena of mental gymnastics, preparatory to not less bold feats of original thought. The statement of the methods pursued by Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, considering the nature of the task and the brevity of the sketch, has more of clearness than usually belongs to such analyses. The nature of this attempt, too, may excuse the boldness of our own. For, if the methods of Hegel can be characterized in a couple of pages, some idea may perhaps be given of so elaborate a work as the one before us in the compass of a review.

Comte, digging and drudging amid facts as in a dark and pestilential mine, a mere coal-heaver in the world of true philosophy, receives his meed of pity and rebuke. Nothing can be more antagonistic to the Positivism of Comte, than the intuitive methods of the author. On the one side, there is a mere historic collection and preservation of facts; on the other, a perpetual search after those principles which necessitate and inwrap facts. The one mind abides stolidly and stubbornly on the material and visible earth; the other is perpetually in the invisible and spiritual world, dealing with its forces and activities, only reverting to matter that it may mark its egress from the spiritual, and bind it up in the embrace of immutable principles.

The first chapter of the *Cosmology* is strictly prefatory, not essential to the body of the work, and, with the Introduction, constitutes the part of the work least removed in thought from the author's previous publications, and in itself most comprehensible and readable. In this chapter, the aim is to point out the methods in which man may seek, and has sought, to reach the Absolute, the Creator, and the true method in which this conception may be reached. Here, successful use is made of that division of the intellectual powers into the sense, the understanding, and the reason, which is so fundamental in all the philosophical discussions of Dr. Hickok, and which, in itself, is so requisite for the right apprehension of mental phenomena. That the ideas which come in connection both with the sense and the understanding, give occasion for an inadequate and invalid conception of the Absolute, is shown, and also that the true conception, above and beyond all logical explanation, can alone spring from the intuition of the reason. The spiritual and personal Absolute, so reached, is placed not only above nature, but above all the conditioning principles of nature—a being to whom there are no outside and curbing principles whatsoever—a being to whom, in his own action, the phrase, "from the very nature of things," has no application.

This idea of the Absolute invites a moment's attention. While from an obvious necessity exempting the Absolute from

some of the conditioning ideas to which matter is subject, as those of space and time, we are nevertheless tempted to make the principle of the Eternal Reason external to itself, and, through the immutability of these general ideas, to build up what is termed a nature of things within which God, equally with man, is included.

But the true conception is rather that which makes the Infinite Reason the seat and source of all rationality. Not from the nature of things, but from its own nature, and because it is reason and the complete reason, is it pervaded and made orderly by principles; or, more correctly, in the necessity of its own existence and action, it gives birth to principles. God's action in one form is nature, and because this nature is the going forth in action of reason, it is itself not chaotic, but rational, contained, natured within certain great principles which inhere in the reason and the action of the reason. God, as the Original Spirit, in a void of all other existence, finds his action and the law of his action within himself, and, as an uncreated Spirit, is equally the source of the action and of its rational form. It is impossible that the angles of a triangle should be greater than two right-angles; that the same thing should at the same instant be both white and black. We may say that this impossibility lies in the nature of things, but, in a complete analysis, it is found to lie in the nature of God.

All the explanations of reason in the external world revert to God, and end in God; and thus God, by the direct insight and apprehension which spirit has of spirit, by the insight of reason into reason, reveals himself more and more to his creatures. Thus, also, right is not a law to God, but springs from God. It is no other than the law which is contained in the highest action of the full reason. The law of health is a law deduced from the best action of the best physical system; the law of spiritual health—of right—is the law deduced from the perfect action of the Absolute Reason.

If we are rightly to understand all things in God, our conception of God must be lifted up into the region of the truly Absolute. God must include all, and be included of nothing.

Having discussed the idea of the Absolute as reached in the

reason, the author passes to the Cosmos—the real subject of the work. It is at this point that difficulties begin to accumulate, and the boldness and originality of the author to be made more apparent. What many would diffidently propound as theories are advanced as necessary and indisputable truths; and the calm confidence of the method makes us half ready to mistake presentation for proof.

The claim is, that by an immediate insight into things themselves, we know what those things must be and do; how facts must stand from the eternal principles that condition them; that we are to “dispense with sense-perception, and guide ourselves solely by the clear insight of reason;” and, that in our grasp of its forces, we may see, not only how the universe was created, but how it must have been created.

There are certain ideas which the reason reaches intuitively and, on occasion of the appropriate phenomena, supplies in order to their rational apprehension. A ball is seen to come into collision with a second ball, and this to move forward under the impact. The reason supplies the idea of force, and the phenomenon stands explained or apprehended in the relation of cause and effect. Some go further and claim that the reason, from its very idea of force, is able to tell what this force, under given circumstances, will do, and thus without experience to lay down the laws of motion.

Others affirm that these laws are learned by experience, and that afterward reason seems to find in them this intrinsic necessity. The idea of space being given, most admit that the proofs of geometry are so contained in that idea as to need no verification from experience. The author claims in the work before us, that in the idea of substance, furnished by the reason, as underlying material phenomena, there is given such a rational insight into its nature, that we know what matter and its laws must be. This is certainly the boldest attempt that can be made by the intuitive school—the highest and airiest *a priori* road yet thrown up. If this is established, then demonstration, which had its birth in pure mathematics, and thence slowly, in connection with abstract, numerical conceptions, ad-

vanced to mechanics, will sweep through the whole material universe, and transform this realm of causal into one of demonstrable necessity. It cannot be affirmed that it is impossible. As the kingdom of physical forces is one of necessity, this necessity may, we should rather say, must, arise from the nature of the forces at work; and this nature, now locked up in mystery, being revealed, all results possess a seen necessity or demonstration. Can this apprehension of forces in their laws be attained? By means of certain axioms involved in the idea of space, we arrive at the proofs of geometry. If our other original intuitions—necessary ideas furnished by the reason, can be made the basis of axioms, they may, also, of demonstrative reasoning. In the idea of cause are contained the axioms, that each effect has its cause, that the effect must measure the cause, that the nature of the cause must determine the nature of the effect, that there is an expenditure of the cause in the effect. Whether these, or other similar propositions, are axioms, or resolvable into axioms, is proved by the same appeal which decides whether the proposition, the whole is equal to the sum of all its parts, is an axiom. Do we see this to be necessarily so? Experience imparts no sense of necessity to what she teaches; the reason alone gives this. Can we conceive it to be otherwise than universally so? Experience imparts no sense of universality, but leaves an open possibility each moment of variety and change. If the above propositions are axioms, the laws of motion are immediately included under them, and much of natural philosophy is already demonstrative. That pertinent axioms, and their proofs, may be shaped under our idea of substance, is no more impossible than that they should have been found under our idea of space or number, or than that they may be found under our idea of cause. We cannot then regard the general aim of the work as illegitimate or premature.

In the second chapter is given the idea of substance, and from it is unfolded, in steps of a necessary progression, all varieties of substances and of forces inhering in substances—the Cosmos. The validity of this conception, with its attendant results, is the fundamental question raised by the book.

That there are any ultimate particles, any dead centres in matter, is at once set aside. Such a material centre is "*a caput mortuum*;" what is done, is done for it, and not by it; it is incapable of any use, appears in no action, and comes up in none of the senses. As a thing without office and proof, it is wiped away. It is no necessary part, and hence no part, of the conception. A force is complete in itself, and does not need to inhere in a dead centre or rest back upon it. It is sustained by the being whose force it is, and has no further dependence. If material particles are given it, they lie idle and invisible in the stream, and we have no other proof of their existence than that we have thought them there; if we do but think them out again, they vanish forever. The conception, then, of substance, reduced to its minimum of elements, involves forces only. But what forces, and how acting? This question we shall answer at length.

The second and third chapters constitute the body of the work, and are the counterparts, the complements of each other. In the second chapter, the leading conceptions of the universe as intuitively furnished and unfolded by the reason are presented, and in the third chapter these ideas are applied to the explanation of existing phenomena, and established by the coincidence of theory and fact—of the comprehending idea with the contained reality.

We shall give our own idea as now secured, not laboring to follow the book either in its method or order of presentation.

As force is to be the material of the universe, we need to analyze the conception, that we may in the outset clearly apprehend what is contained in it. When we speak of the force of gravity, we generally conceive it as a stream of force or attraction, flowing from without inward toward the attracting body. It is a dynamic rather than a static, and, at a given point in reference to a given body, acts in one direction only. It aids or retards motion from one side only, and, except as so acting, is entirely penetrable and does not meet the senses. This must not be our conception of force, as we now use the term. A space-filling force, the basis of a material creation, must act in all directions, and make itself felt equally when

approached from any side. It must have in it both action and counteraction, or action at the same instant in opposite directions. Only thus can it become a static, having points which it possesses, and within which it manifests itself as a permanent thing—a force fortified in all directions. Thus only can any action become force. If we were met by an action which had in it no reaction, it would be as much beyond the cognizance of our senses as the most intangible ether. The current as it flows against us must be checked and thrown back in eddies, must itself be penetrated by a counterforce received from us equal to that which it has exerted upon us. This is the indispensable condition of its becoming to us a current of force. A conception of gravity which supposes it to set in one direction only, throws it out of the category of forces; since without reaction, or action in two directions, there can be no force, as there is no static point on which it may rest, from which it may go forth, and against which the reaction may be received. Such a force would be entirely mobile, an insensible ether, in other words, no force.

But, in order that there may be action in two directions, that is, force, there must be action in all directions. Through a pencil of iron we can apply force to any object, and from the object there will run back parallel lines of reversed force to the hand applying it. There is sensible action in two directions only, and this, because of the rigidity of the rod. If the rod were made of fine elastic wires, it would instantly begin, under pressure, to separate in the middle, showing action in other directions; and, if the pressure were increased, each wire would rise till it became the meridian of a sphere. If our rod were a rod of air confined in a tube, and pushed by a piston through the mobility of the particles, a force, on the application of the hand, would instantly show itself in all directions, and no power could be generated, through the action of the piston, without this multiplication of it into as many directions as there were possible radii passing out from each molecule of air. Where the points are mobile, therefore, action in two directions is adequate to generate, and must generate action in all directions, that is, force.

If the tube is pierced at any point, and the air suffered to escape, owing to the want of mobility to generate action in this one direction, it is lost in all directions, and the cylinder of air is no longer available as a medium of power.

If we conceive action, then, as a movement in one direction only—a conception quite allied to the ordinary notion of gravity—two activities, moving in a right line and meeting in the same point, will interpenetrate each other, and produce action and reaction, or space-filling force; and this space-filling force will, by the necessity of the method of production, be spherical. At the point of contact, the two lines or pencils of action begin to press into each other—that is, to send a reaction each up the stream of the other. But as the force now generated at the centre sets back on either side and tends to become a pencil of force, there is no cohesion, as in the metallic rod, or tube, as in the column of air, to bind it in on either side, and thus enable it to push backward and forward along the activities, and become a lengthened line of force. If the force has come to occupy three consecutive points in a line, there can be no further generation of force, however much the activities may press in upon each other, unless the central point of the three can be made a static, on which the others can rest back, and from which there can go forth a new power. Thus far, however, we have in the central point its own action indeed in all directions, but in addition to this an external, polar pressure from two sides, and hence a tendency to escape equatorially from between these two pressures. That it may retain its place, and become a static for all other outstanding points, it is requisite that it should be fortified on every side equally; that is, become a sphere with a layer of points about it. It is now able to resist the counter-streams of activity that press down upon it, and send back a new reaction; each new action and reaction in the two polar directions necessitating a kindred action and reaction in all directions, that the central point may be held and the movement continued. The growth, therefore, of the space-filling force is spherical, with a precisely similar action and reaction in all the lines of its radii; save that, by the pressing in of the fresh

action along the polar radii, these are constantly lengthened and made generative of all the others. The sphere will continue to grow as long as the action is able to overcome the constantly increasing reaction which comes up from the centre and forces its way into the sphere; when the two are equal, the sphere will remain stationary.

This conception is fundamental in the scheme of the author, and the mind needs to rest on it till it is clearly held. If, through a tube, a stream of air were discharged at the centre of an India-rubber ball, there would be immediately contained therein a sphere of homogeneous force, action and reaction constantly running up and down every radius. Every point within the sphere would be, like the sphere, full of radial pressure. This, with differences to be pointed out, images the creation—the space-filling force now produced. If we represent the lines of action by arrows, these will be seen passing in and out along every radius; the generative action and reaction being, in the polar diameter, the resultant action and reaction in all other diameters. In the sphere of force, there is no binding of the parts from the surface, but the whole sphere in its every point is pressing back upon the centre; each radius, by the interior necessity of the conception of force, having equally with the polar radii an action inward as well as outward.

Such a sphere, while in one sense homogeneous, would not be so in another. The pressure at the centre would be the greatest, and steadily decrease as we approached the surface. The centre has been the static point from which all the action and reaction have gone forth through all the layers, and which, therefore, generates the action of the whole sphere and receives its reaction. Its repulsion, then, would be as the size of the sphere, or as the cube of the radius.

We must conceive of force—in this akin to all other causes—as expending itself in its effects, and as requiring to be intensified and renewed according to the magnitude of the results, and the time occupied. If each of the two activities meeting in the centre is marked from that point with an arbitrary unit into ten equal spaces each way, the power required

to occupy the first of these spaces with force, may be regarded as one. But the first space cannot be retained, and the second also occupied, without an increase of force. If a second space alone is to be occupied, the force by which this is done must needs be doubled, and is now represented by two. But in order that a second space may be occupied, it is necessary, as already seen, to fortify the centre by the entire layer of spaces or points, of which the space to be occupied is one. That the second space, therefore, may be included within the force, the central power must fill a sphere whose radius is two; and that the third space may be occupied, it must fill a sphere whose radius is three. As, however, all force goes forth from the centre, is thrown back every way in reaction from the centre, there is a rapid expenditure of power as we pass outward. In any given sphere, the intensity at one point will be to the intensity at another point, inversely as the cubes of their distances from the centre; since the spheres represented by these cubes will be the spheres occupied previous to the occupation of the two points respectively.

If one represents the central power, the power of each point will be represented by a fraction whose numerator is one, and whose denominator is the number of points in the sphere of which it itself is a superficial point. But the number of points in the sphere is as its solid contents, and hence, we may place as the denominator of the fraction the cube of the radius. The repulsion, then, in each point of the sphere, is inversely as the cube of its distance from the centre.

Every radius may be regarded as a stream of outward and returning forces, forces radiating rapidly into the sphere as the centre is left. A point in this radius, a molecule anywhere taken, has the forces there present unexpended marked by the ratio specified. This ratio, however, represents the aggregate force of each point, the sum of its force in all directions. The force which it exerts in any given direction, as in the line of the radius to or from the centre, is less than this. If we pass a plane through any diameter of the sphere, the circular section will contain and represent all forces acting in lines lying in that plane, and each interior and concentric

circle will contain all the forces, and none other, that are afterwards to occupy each exterior circle. The intensity, then, of any point in its linear action to or from the centre, will be expressed by the areas of circles, and each point will, in this respect, be to every other point, inversely as the square of the distances from the centre. Attraction, then, as it acts only in lines, will be inversely as the square of the distance.

We have now in conception a completed sphere, and, this granted, what have we gained? And what proof is there that there is here any correspondence with the fact? We have gained this, that we can at least see how a creation is possible; and that there is no such chasm between the material and spiritual, as that the one cannot come out of the other, or be in communion with it. In pure spiritual action, from which force is generated, there is no static point given, nothing on which the mind may rest, and from which it may go forth by direction and distances to determine space. The whole is as void of space relations as the mind itself. Nor is there in this action, to any of the senses, any appearing or transpiring phenomena from which may arise either a suggestion of time or a measure of its flow. All is timeless, invisible, and spiritual. The Great Spirit, so remaining in simple, single action, is without any creation. But, when two simple activities have checked their hitherto undetermined flow at a common point of action and reaction; when this point has been made a static by a permanent force capable of resistance in all directions; when this central point has enlarged itself into a sphere commensurate with the natural universe of God;—we have that which may be the basis of the actual universe, and which, with modifications in various parts, still to be presented, may appear in the senses with all the different phenomena of matter. Space and time, and all the concomitants of a permanent yet changing universe, will be present within the domain of these sensible forces, and a universe excluding God will lie quietly within his action, each instant generated anew by that action, and ready to vanish in a moment when his power shall cease to stream into it.

We have occasion to speak of the sphere of force, which

with its interior and local modifications is to be made the basis of all force or of the universe, as if it were generated by a succession of steps, since thus only can the order of action in the forces be considered. It is evident, however, that such a force would arise at once, according to the intensity of the activities, a completed sphere; its completed and spherical form being an immediate necessity of its very existence; the occasion being given in the presence of two adverse actions, this substratum of a universe would instantly be present. It is also evident, that, though a static force is secured, it is secured through a dynamic—the flow of a spiritual activity; and if this were to cease, the force, having nothing to sustain it, would instantly drop away. The universe which arose at the word of God, would vanish at his word as readily.

If this conception of matter in its first forces is correct, we have an explanation of laws which are now to us naked facts without the first glimmering of insight. Gravitation is seen to be an inherent necessity of the forces at work; as also that ensphering force which matter left at liberty obeys. The sphere, and this form only, furnishes an equilibrium to the repulsions and attractions at work.

But the value and the proof of the conception are the same, and the former will still further appear under the latter. The interior proof of the conception, its links of necessity, may be said to be of two kinds: the things included in the very idea of force—the things requisite that we may have force and the generation of force; and the conclusions mathematically deducible from this conception when granted us. Among the first, are action and reaction in opposite directions; this action and reaction as they become force enabled to sustain and accumulate themselves by a kindred action and reaction in all directions; and the increased pressure at the centre, as the force propagates itself from this point through larger spheres. Among the second, are the laws of attraction and repulsion, and others still to be given.

The last part of this proof is demonstration; the first part depends on the clearness of the intuition by which we assert that so much and not more is requisite to the idea of force—a

process allied to that by which we see the truth of an axiom.

The external proof of the conception, by which we establish that this method of action is not the basis of an ideal, but of the actual universe, must consist in the correspondence of the results, as traced in the conception, with those found in the world about us.

From this point, therefore, each enlargement of the conception, by which it passes into a completed universe, should add to its proof the testimony of a new class of facts. If our idea of force, in itself and modifications, is made to include the minimum of elements requisite to the conception, and our deductions from these elements are right, and if the results so arrived at are found to correspond to the real universe, demonstration will have been carried over to the actual, phenomenal world.

We have already proceeded sufficiently far in the conception, to call up the testimony of some of the more important and simple facts.

A repulsion has been shown to exist in the sphere, which, in connection with attraction, necessitates its spherical form. This power shows itself in the spherical form of all fluid bodies, not overruled by stronger forces; in the globules of mercury, the drops of water, the coalescence of two drops in a larger, and in the planets. It may be said, that attraction alone, without the aid of repulsion, tends to secure a sphere. This is true, and it would undoubtedly be able singly, under favoring circumstances, to reach this form. But it is also greatly aided by repulsion; and this aid seems at times plainly to be indicated. The descending shot is able instantly to become a sphere, though in the unfavorable current of a much stronger force than its own attraction, that of the earth. A globule of water, and, still more, a globule of mercury lying on a plane surface, is able to drive up and sustain a hemisphere, or even a sphere, against strong attractions. The facility with which bubbles form themselves in the stream would seem to indicate such a force.

While our conception is yet primitive and simple, we tarry

to point out phenomena, which, in the complex and completed universe of matter, are yet due to the undisturbed action of these first forces.

It is easy to see how the first law of motion would be met by a body, large or small, left free in space. Any impulse from without would destroy the equilibrium of its forces, and, by adding itself as an excess to that on one side, would cause the body to move in a straight line before this uncompensated force. Such a body, in the perfection of its interior equilibrium, would be wholly movable, and would have nothing, either within or about itself, wherewith to resist or modify the impelling force in its line of action. So, also, matter in the world about us has no power in itself alone to resist force, or turn it from its line of action. This power is given it by its action upon surrounding objects, and their action upon it.

But we need, also, to see what laws material bodies, whose substratum and only means of interaction were the antagonistic forces now presented, would observe among themselves, and whether they are those secured in the actual universe under the attraction of gravitation. The most simple case of interaction would be that of two fluid bodies, whose spheres intersected each other. As soon as any point should become common to the two spheres there would, at that point, be a fresh antagonism, begotten by the forces coming up on either side from the centres of the meeting spheres. As rapidly, therefore, as one surface should intersect the other, there would, from the centre of the part included by both, arise, under the new antagonism, a new sphere as it were, and thus the space common to both spheres be neutralized and no longer remain a balanced and balancing constituent of either. Each, therefore, having lost a part of its counteraction or resistance on the side toward the other, would move in that direction, forced on by the now unbalanced action of the side farthest from the point of contact. The two spheres would rapidly press into each other, and if fluid throughout, suffer their centres to meet in a new centre—in the centre of the intermediate sphere we have already seen beginning to form. Thus, two drops of water, touching at their circumference, are instantly lost in a

new and larger drop. If the nuclei of two such spheres were solid, they would press upon each other with a power equal to the intensity of the forces acting in the spheres. Matter is now no longer entirely movable, and, if we are to separate these bodies, we must do it by a force sufficient to overcome this pressure.

The intensity of action in any central, generating force would determine the power of action and reaction throughout its sphere, and thus the power with which it would affect another body whose action should intersect its own; the energy with which it would be forced toward it, and the pressure with which it would bind itself upon it. This corresponds precisely to what is termed the quantity of matter, and in motion to momentum. Hence, the intensity in the original antagonism will, in this conception, answer to the quantity of matter, and shows itself in rest and in motion, as inertia and momentum.

The second case is not that of bodies approximately equal, but of smaller bodies wholly merged within the sphere of a larger. The earth, as a solid ball, is yet included in a very much larger sphere of fluid force or ether, whose centre of antagonism is that of the earth. Each solid immersed in this ether, acting through the particles of the first adjacent layer, and mediately through each successive layer, binds this fluid force, this ether, in a sphere about itself. In this surrounding medium, we have that which causes all bodies to act upon each other, and bind themselves together by a force allied to the attraction of gravitation.

Both the solid and fluid parts of the universe, in their present forms and relations, are still to be treated of in their origin; but these for the moment granted, it is evident, that each solid with its fluid sphere about it would be affected by the action of every other. Two cannon-balls, the influence of each reaching within that of the other, would, as already seen in the case of two intersecting spheres, by external pressure, be impelled toward each other, and still more both toward the earth. Indeed, so great would be the neutralization of force on the earthward side of every body, the partial vacuum of

force and consequent pressure in that direction, as nearly to disguise every minor tendency. Every falling body would be accompanied by a permanent force, which, having secured one velocity in one instant, would add itself in the second instant to secure a second like velocity, and thus the spaces passed over would be represented in the ordinary method by a triangle, and the law of a falling body apply throughout. The space which is passed over by virtue of the newly acquired force of each instant, will be represented by a series of equal triangles; while the spaces passed over by means of the force already obtained, and with which each instant is entered on, will be represented by the areas of increasing parallelograms; and these together with the triangles, will make up the parts of a larger triangle.

Matter finding its substantial being in force, would, in the interaction of different bodies under this force, manifest all mechanical phenomena, and find a counterpart of their laws in its own. But the conception, in its explanation of natural appearances, does not stop here; for we find, inwrought in the very nature of force, that which should ally itself to magnetism and electricity, and show itself through their forms of manifestation.

That this may be seen, we need to return again to the original idea. We saw the whole sphere to be generated by two polar activities, but each point, or, if we choose, molecule in the sphere may also be said to have a separate generation by two pressures; and we need to inquire what is the line of their action. While throughout the sphere there are pressures in all directions, these pressures are every where the result of two pressures, and sustained by them. This generative action lies in the polar diameter and in meridional lines, since, in these directions it is, that each point rests back on the activities pressing into the sphere, and each instant sustaining it. If we take a section through the sphere, along its polar diameter, and conceive anew the process of generation, in the order of causation, we shall see that each radial line of force, as it begins to pass out from the centre, must be sustained on either side before it can leave its starting-point. Into how

many so ever concentric circles we divide this plane, each interior circle must be filled before an outer circle can be entered on, and each outstanding point must be instantly balanced, sustained, and made the nucleus of a new generation, by resting back in a completed circle on the poles. Hence, so to express it, the governing, first-moving forces of the sphere lie in the direction of the meridians and the diameter into which these meridians finally lapse. Action in other directions, though equal, is but secondary and consequential. Here, then, we have forces in polar currents, setting backward either way from the equator, and adequate, in movable and detached portions of matter in which their action is undisturbed, to give a polar or magnetic direction. The molecular arrangement of a body would determine its capacity or incapacity to receive and obey such a force. This force, when broken in its current and struggling to restore its equable pressure from pole to equator, would manifest itself as electricity. The bodies, whose molecular arrangement suffer them readily to receive, transmit, and thus disguise its action, would be conductors; those which offer resistance and bring out its action would be non-conductors. The connection of magnetism with electricity thus becomes obvious, and the manner in which a developed and concentrated current of electricity induces magnetism in the iron-bar, about which the conducting wire is coiled. When acting among particles of steel, the meridional lines of the forces can readily be made to trace themselves in the manner due to the conception.

The dip of the needle is explicable by reference, again, to the line of action in the spherical forces. While each meridian of force runs back to the polar diameter, it does not rest directly upon that diameter, but is now so turned inward as to be parallel therewith. If the force at the equator were suffered simply to round itself down to the pole, it would there be left at right angles to the generative action. But, as it is this action which we are considering, we need to mark the line of generative force as turning, not ninety, but one hundred and eighty degrees, in its passage from the equator to the pole, where it is

again returned without break into the first activities. In this is given the dip of the needle, as it approaches either pole. If the vertical angle of the needle were marked at every degree of latitude, it would, at each point, give the direction of the generative force, as, in its inward curvature, it prepares to enter the sphere again at its poles.

In the explanation of mechanical, magnetic, and electric phenomena, we have had occasion only for a single force, passing out from the centre of the universal sphere in constant action and reaction; while included within that sphere were the several forms of matter, each also finding its substance in a similar force. So far will a single force give the basis of a universe, and laws to its action. We have now occasion, however, to introduce a new force, acting in a variety of methods and degrees on its fellow, thus furnishing the counterpart of that unlimited variety which presents itself in the external world. This is termed, by the author, the diremptive force, and may be termed, from the method of its action and the phenomena which it explains, the heat force. This, unlike the antagonistic force, has no independent existence, and only makes itself sensible in a space already filled by the other. Coming forth from the same generative centre, in meeting and reducing the cohesion of the sphere already created, it becomes manifest as a force. It is a simple activity, arising in the centre of the sphere, and, as it flows outward, forcing its way among the compacted points of the sphere, it every where loosens its antagonism, and is in itself possessed of no reaction save that which it receives in meeting and resisting the central pressure of the sphere. This liquidation of the globe may proceed to any extent, till the attraction of its parts is wholly overcome, and it lies every where a perfectly penetrable ether, a fluid force.

In the action of this heat force, we shall find laws of the natural phenomena not yet reached. In forcing its way out from the centre, it must necessarily cause a pulsation throughout the globe, and with a vibratory movement pass among and separate its molecules. It must exist in the centre, in sufficient

power to sustain the whole pressure of the surrounding layers, before it can commence its movement. Otherwise, no spaces could be possessed, no issuing points could form themselves. In boiling, the bubbles of steam do not appear, till their interior pressure is equal to that of the fluid in which they form. But when their interior force begins to equal and, by a trifle, to exceed the inward radial pressure, it must first pass out along the equatorial belt, loosening up the sphere by a pulsation passing through each layer in the order of their succession.

The globe completed and at rest presents an equal pressure in every plane and in every radius; but when this pressure is to be overcome from the centre, the equatorial force, as unsustained from without, will be a definite quantity, which, the instant it is exceeded, will give way; the polar forces, on the other hand, supported by the incoming activities, will be able to send inward an increased reaction, making these parts less penetrable than the included zones. But the heat force which is able to penetrate a layer is able to flow through, and loosen that layer in all its parts; and hence each act of penetration is followed by a diffusion toward the poles, and, by a more or less rapid alternate movement, the whole sphere is occupied. This heat force, from the very nature of the antagonistic force through which it extends itself, must move in waves, rising at the equator and setting back on the poles; and these vibrations, determined in the medium through which they are moving, as short and sharp, or long and slow, will affect the senses differently; in the first case, as light; in the second, as heat.

Light, as so presented, is seen to act through waves, and draws to itself at once all the explanations which have previously gone far to establish the wave theory. Heat is intimately connected with light; its relation to the latter, and the greater length and strength of wave to which it is due, are seen in its position in the solar spectrum, beyond and exterior to that of highest light. The solidity, fluidity, and combustion of bodies are but different stages of interpenetration; the last involving the entire liberation of the molecular points by

the presence of heat, thus giving rise to new combinations. The phenomena of latent heat, and of the contraction and expansion of bodies, are at once explained. Natural philosophy already recognizes the atoms of matter as not touching each other, but every where sundered by heat.

If solidity is assigned to the strength of antagonism, all degrees of fluidity may be secured by the presence of the heat force, the points of antagonism being thereby so far separated as to be more or less movable among themselves. A body, like steel, of greater strength and yet of less weight than many other bodies, indicates strength of antagonism and slight disremption; a heavy and fluid body, like mercury, indicates still greater intensity in the molecular forces, and also a still wider separation of them by the heat force.

The formation of worlds and stellar distribution are the parts of the theory most ingeniously and carefully elaborated, but our limits forbid a presentation of the author's views.

What is said under the head of life, vegetable, animal, or rational, affords no interior explanation of that force or principle. It is assumed with its tendencies or laws already in it, and these laws we learn, not from a knowledge of itself, but from its observed action on matter. The point of chief interest in the discussion on life is that virtually contained in the previous conception of matter—the resolution of all things and forces into gravity and heat. These are the only material forces, and life subserves all its own purposes through these.

Dr. Hickok employs the *à priori* method in its boldest, if not its most irresponsible form. So used by feeble minds, the results must inevitably be mere vagaries. Where positivism ends, this philosophy disdains to begin. It starts with its own conception of that which is interior and causal, and consecutively unfolds this, not that it may find what the phenomena of the world are, but why they so are. This process, to a sufficiently vigorous intellect, is not at random. The conception is guided and constrained by two imperatives: that the minimum of forces shall be introduced; and that these forces when traced in action shall exhibit the exact counterpart of existing phenomena. The mind, resting on the most simple conception

of forces, slowly sees how that conception must be modified, enlarged or retrenched, in order that it may accomplish what in the world is accomplished through force. The mind reasons from given effects to the minimum of causes able to produce these. If this movement is successful, and a pregnant conception is found, the reason discerning its adequacy pronounces it a fact, and, in the tracing of its forces in these inevitable sequences, finds an explanation and demonstration of all included laws. If the explanations are complete through the whole field to which they apply, proof absolute is carried back to the conception, and from the conception demonstration in turn is borne within the included limits.

In the book under review, the demonstrative character of the processes involved is kept constantly before us, more so, we think, than the results reached justify. While there are many steps in the reasoning necessary and inevitable, there are others not yet so firmly held or clearly stated as to carry proof; and still others, obviously involving the play of chance forces, and leaving the cosmos, as far as the insight of man is concerned, largely open to accident. Granting all that precedes it, yet the universal ether, and the matter floating therein, become a magnificent realm of accident. The generative currents of the universe are as streams laden with ice. All is fantastic, the image of hazard and chance. Standing on the banks of such a stream, we know not where the drift shall gather and heap itself in masses; where it shall separate leaving shreds in open places; how much shall come from above, or how far it shall scatter itself below. Notwithstanding the insight of reason by which we have reached this point, we are at last afloat on a stream that, burdened with the material of a universe, goes tumbling and surging out into the open fields of space. Where shall it leave lagging behind, or hurl revolving out from its interior current, locked up in nebulous embryo, a solar system? Worlds, like the sands of a swollen river, are to be scattered all over the stellar plains, and, save a few leading features, there is to the human eye as much of accident in their precise arrangement, as when the deposit of the Amazon sinks in its ocean bed.

But what has been done is not the less striking and valuable because much remains to be done. It may be doubted whether the history of philosophy furnishes an instance of a conception more radical and broad.

In a department of thought like this, ever liable to become visionary and barren, and where the success of one but provokes multiplied failures on the part of others, nothing is more serviceable than a constant and thorough revision of its logic, holding its votaries to a strict account. In a region which is so strictly speculative, misguided and unskilled thought will neither itself reach truth, nor, as in the inductive philosophy, accumulate material on which more fortunate minds can act. The whole movement immediately becomes vague and valueless, and requires to be re-directed in a more empirical and practical path—to have formed for it a novum organum.

The inability of experience to explain itself, the necessity of certain intuitive ideas wherewith to unite and make rational its phenomena in their various relations whether of liberty or necessity, are generally admitted. But, in proportion to the value of these intuitions in all true philosophy, should be the diligence with which we watch over them, and shield them from their greatest danger, an undue and careless extension. None have better understood this than the author of the work before us; and the foundations which he has every where laid for his reasonings have been deeper and more permanent than experience, and the laws which he has assigned to the spiritual world something more than the transferred causality of nature.

He has not been content to reason from the bottom upwards, and thus find no more in the highest, than is contained in the lowest, and measure the whole universe by its smallest pattern; but, in each department, by an intuition of the things there present, has been able to furnish new data to logic. Logic is not to spin every thing out of its own bowels, but to tell us how we may correctly reach what is contained in the data which all our intuitive faculties give us. Is it surprising, if we accept the intuitions of the body only and throw away those of the spirit, or reason, that we immediately sink under a gross physical and empirical regimen?

But each department, because it has starting-points of its own, is not, therefore, without logic; nay, rather, the higher and the more subtile, the department of thought, the more accurately should its tests, its laws of proof, be defined, and the more sternly applied; and the wilder and more worthless will be the results if each step has not been so accredited. If we are to appeal, in each more difficult and embarrassed point, to the insight of reason, we wish also to know what it is which determines the correctness of that insight. If this appeal is rightly made, it involves the clearing up of the whole difficulty, and the happy detection of those few axioms which, inevitably admitted of all, can afterward be shown to be the links which explain all, and bind all together.

If the old criteria of an intuition—its necessity and universality, need modification, well; but if what is understood by most with difficulty is claimed as an intuition in the insight of higher minds, there is an end of satisfactory and general proof.

In intuitive proof rightly laid, there is involved nothing but principles of necessity and universality, and the axioms which combine these in conclusions. These points and these axioms, it is the duty of the person who claims all "as an insight," to make out and present. This is proof: without it there is no proof. If every man can skirmish in the open plain, and retreat at will into the insight of reason as an impregnable fortress, there will be no end to false philosophy. If the step is prodigious, which we are called upon to take, we are not to be thrown back with a firmer assertion of intuition; but the whole ground is to be the more carefully examined, and presented to us with its minimum of axiomatic principles and intuitive ideas, that these may be separately and perfectly verified. Till we have a starting-point to our reasonings, and a logic to verify its steps, all is vague, uncertain, imponderable. What is demonstration to one presents no proof to another, and is not intelligible to a third. Where one

"As in a cloudy chair ascending rides
Audacious,"

another meets

"A vast vacuity."

In this respect much remains to be done, before the ground covered by the discussions of this before us can be said to be occupied. Some of the introductory steps can readily be thrown into their most simple form of proof, bringing to light their inherent necessity, and others can be seen to be necessary parts of the conception. Reasoning from the effect to what must be granted in the cause, and from the forces so granted to what is involved therein, we can pass through some of the earlier and more fundamental parts of the conception with a fair show of proof. As we advance, however, the difficulty of establishing the right conception, and appropriate, axioms becomes more and more apparent. The author has done but little of this work, and the ground seems to have been rather sketched out than patiently and thoroughly occupied. How far proof can be carried remains to be seen. Nothing would have been more surprising than that a single mind should both have originated and completed so broad a conception. The poor rush-light of inductive philosophy would have gone out in so bright a presence, and few would be willing to learn with patient toil what are facts, when, by so royal a road, it could at once be seen both what they are and why they are.

We may deny in its thorough use the name of science to the inductive philosophy, but we do not thereby affect the value of the knowledge which it confers. Ultimate, that knowledge surely is not, but fundamental, preliminary and true knowledge, it certainly is. To know how things are is to know much, and, to an intellect as weak as man's, an essential preliminary of the more remote inquiry, why they so are. Slowly and at single points, we may penetrate into the necessity which conditions things, and, possessing both the phenomena and their comprehending principles, call this by the now rare name of science. But the very basis of our argument must have been furnished by a less bold philosophy. Only by a faithful study of results, may we reach the cause and measure it in a careful conception. We must travel cautiously with our explanations along the road of previous knowledge, and judge ourselves right, when we have reached the already classified facts of the universe. It will be time enough, when we

have fairly climbed up by an empirical path to the summit of the universe, when we have fully gone about it, and seen all its columns of beauty and bulwarks of strength, to pass over into a perfect and rational explanation of all, and to lay it upon the shelf as a book read. It ought rather to be anticipated, that, in the earlier stages of knowledge, there will be comparatively a slight suggestion of necessary truths; and that not till light begins to radiate freely in from all points, will the essential relation and frame-work of things be apparent. If, at distant intervals and with much labor, we gain fixed and immutable truth in single points, it should satisfy us, remembering that when the universe is finished in its rational explanation, our work with it and its work for us is finished, and that henceforth it lies a stairway beneath us whose last step we have taken. As the process shall hasten to a completion, the gathering of converging lines, the junction of explanation with explanation, the swallowing up of each inductive process in the higher demonstrations of reason, may be more rapid; but we have as yet hardly reached a point in which we can do more than establish single demonstrations in the field of science. In congealing water, we see here and there a few lines of force striking out in rigid bars, while the surface at large is yet fluent.

While a demonstration as broad as that aimed at in the *Rational Cosmology* would have been most startling, the fertile and suggestive character of many of the lines of thought opened, and the ready manner in which parts of the conception shape themselves into proof, invite to its earnest study; and only in the careful weighing of every part can any one authoritatively pronounce upon it. A careless reading of a work like this can be productive of little but contemptuous ignorance. In some parts we have endeavored to elaborate the proof, and present it in its clearest form; in others, we have not seen it as capable of being so presented.

The first impression made by much of the conception is of innumerable difficulties, and it is not till later that we are surprised at the number of these which can be overcome, and the

strength which certain points are seen gradually to acquire. The book demands much more than the ordinary share of patience, and without it will produce but vague and barren results. If any one wishes to exercise his mind in shaping a subtle and grand idea, in surrounding it by appropriate and compacted proof, in modifying and enlarging it till it shall do its work more perfectly and broadly, he will hardly elsewhere find so ample an opportunity.

The chief interest of this theory to many minds is found in its metaphysical and religious bearings, and these are the same, whether it be accepted in detail, or only in its leading features. Indeed, if accepted merely as a possible and plausible theory, it may still render most important service. The material and the spiritual are no longer left as realms so totally alien to each other as to preclude reciprocal action, but there is conceived a method, by which the seen may come from, and return to, the unseen. There is then no interior necessity, in the very nature of the physical, by which it must run on in infinite parallelism with the spiritual.

In referring that which now is—a creation, to a creating power, the mind is not, by this conception, compelled to find the effect at every step in the cause, the universe in God, and thus all things but the evolution of Deity. On the other hand, thought is found able to bridge the chasm between the impersonal work and the personal worker, and to conceive a beginning of sensible existence—a transition from a spiritual to a physical force; and that this, though the putting forth of divine power, is yet not Deity, nor any part or necessary development of the divine nature. We are no longer scourged along the line of cause and effect into an inevitable pantheism, and may at least show that the connection between that which is—a universe, and that which we claim once alone to have been—an Eternal Spirit, is not even to our reason utterly inexplicable. We are not forced either to admit the eternity of matter; or the identity of matter and spirit—of nature and God; or take refuge in a faith acknowledged to be blind. We may believe in a God on whom, indeed, nature is conditioned, but who is not, in turn, conditioned by nature: nor will our belief be totally in the dark.

ART. III.—UNITARIAN TENDENCIES.

The Coming Church and its Clergy. An Address at the Meadville Theological School. By SAMUEL OSGOOD, Minister of the Church of the Messiah in New-York. Second Edition. 1859.

The Suspense of Faith. An Address to the Alumni of the Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass., July 19, 1859; a Sequel to the Suspense of Faith; Re-statements of Christian Doctrine in Twenty-five Sermons. By HENRY W. BELLOWES, Minister of All Souls' Church, New-York. 1860.

THE Unitarian body in this country is passing through a crisis, and its leaders are conscious of it. They are looking to the future—to the Coming Church, with strong solicitude. Some able men have left their ranks; others are wavering. No denomination in Protestant Christendom is more contrasted with the original Unitarianism of England and New England, than the Episcopal Church; and yet it is to this Church that many of the refugees are flocking: and Dr. Bellows says that it is the most respectable Church in Christendom. Unitarianism, as ultra-Protestant, is of course vitally antagonistic to Romanism; but now the same authority informs us, "that the Roman Catholic and the Unitarian have more sympathy than any of the intermediate sects of Christendom," on the principle, we suppose, that extremes touch; coupled with the fact, that antagonistic forces are at work among the Unitarians themselves. Liturgy, Sacraments, the visible institutions and external order of the Church are beginning to be moving powers among the men and churches, which were most alien from them not twenty-five years ago. Besides these tendencies, there are also those of a totally different and opposite character in the same communion. Some of its representatives embrace the philosophy and destructive criticism, if not of Strauss, yet

of the school of Tübingen, as to early Christianity, and the first shaping of Christian dogmas. A bald deism and bold radicalism have indeed separated Theodore Parker from their external communion, but all his teachings are the logical results of some principles held and avowed by many Unitarians, who are kept from following him, not by these principles, but by faith in a positive and specific external revelation. Ralph Waldo Emerson represents another class, amalgamating transcendentalism and individualism, and, if holding, not stating, a belief in a personal God, as a salutary article of faith. And between these extreme views there is every shade of doctrinal and philosophical opinion, finding advocates among men connected or sympathizing with this one denomination. Some are conservative Unitarians, and find no reason or impulse in themselves for this strange ferment. Others have a decided mystical tendency, the most remote from the clear, sharp understanding, and common-sense vision of their ancestors. Some still write finished essays, in irreproachable English, upon religious and ethical themes, recommending virtue in classic forms to cultivated minds, and rising to occasional eloquence upon the dignity of human nature and the religious aspirations of the soul. But the stronger and more thoughtful minds, not content with polished phrases and shaded truths, are grappling more earnestly with the great questions that centre in the words Sin, Redemption, Incarnation and the Church.

Two such minds worthily represent the Unitarian denomination in the city of New-York. They are both men of a high order of intellectual activity, well-read scholars and effective preachers, and have repute and influence beyond the bounds of their sect. But they are very different in their character and posture. Dr. Osgood, in his Meadville address, is more positive and constructive; Dr. Bellows, in his Cambridge discourse, startled even his most *nil admirari* auditors by his frequent paradoxes, for which he offered no solution. Both are in an inquiring state of mind (if the phrase may be pardoned); but Dr. Osgood is at the same time pointing the graduates of Meadville to the fair vision of a Broad Church, which is as far advanced as the ideal of an architect before he begins to build;

while Dr. Bellows directs our attention to the Roman Catholic Church, and the Protestant Episcopal, and an indefinite vista of form and rites and sacraments and outward institutions, partly mediæval and partly millennial. The latter likes to see the elements dissolved, and the solution in a ferment; while the former is anxiously watching for the signs of a crystallizing process. Both are earnest men, and seem conscious of what is called "a mission," but the mission of the one is to evoke the conflicting spirits, and that of the other to speak peaceably to them. They are equally Unitarians in sympathy and profession; but we can not find that Dr. Bellows believes Christ to have been essentially other than a man; while Dr. Osgood recognizes, we suppose, divinity as his proper essence. They equally dislike and preach against Calvinism—the former with intense scorn, the latter with a more scholarly caution, but both misrepresenting it as much as we should misrepresent them by calling them Socinians. Both of them, too, represent a modern type or style of Unitarianism, which is connected with the old common-sense Unitarianism against which our fathers contended, in what it denies rather than in its moving spirit, in the common rejection of certain formulas rather than in the philosophical grounds on which those formulas are denied.

The address of Dr. Osgood is written with the skill of a scholar, habituated to keeping his thoughts and words in entire control; his method is felicitous and progressive. The Idea of the Coming Church is first drawn in large outlines; and then its functions are described under the three heads of "instruction, worship, and fellowship;" or "the Pulpit, the Altar, and the Pastoral Walk. The Pulpit is to present God's Word to men; the Altar is to present man's soul to God; the Parish is to nurture the life of piety and charity—that is, the practical reconciliation between God and man." Under each of these points there is a condensed statement of the most important aspects of these functions. "The Altar" is used, somewhat arbitrarily, "as the symbol or the centre of public worship in its praise and prayer, and representing especially the Church Will, as the pulpit represents its Sense." Here,

too, come out hints as to a liturgical service, to give both order and variety to the ministrations—significant of a tendency which is rapidly advancing among the modern Unitarians. Some of the forms of statement have an evangelical cast: *e. g.* “We read upon the altar the truth of that Divine love which made Christ a living and dying sacrifice for man, and thus we accept sacrifice upon its Divine side.” We “find our life and comfort in the precious tide that comes to us from the living heart of Him who died that we might live. To us his blood is eternal life, and the cup of communion is the symbol and channel of an inflow of spiritual power and peace, which no ceremonies can limit, and no experience can exhaust.”

Under the third head, “Periodicity and Assimilation,” are recommended “a rational use of the accustomed seasons of the Christian year,” in the way of “periodicity;” and a greater variety of subjects in pastoral ministrations, to correspond with the laws of “assimilation.” The “Organization of the Future Church” is the next topic, insisting upon the adaptation of the church to all man’s social and religious needs. “The Position of Unitarians” is then freely criticised; its lack of “propagating power;” “an unbounded denominational pride, with little disposition to do the rough work of winning proselytes from the multitude to fill up the side pews and the galleries;” “the fastidious taste, opposed to the fervor of a true church life;” “the Sadducean leaven of worldly respectability and financial pride, which is the natural reaction against Pharisaic sanctimoniousness and superstition.” “The element of Divine influence was made little prominent in the thought of some of the Unitarian leaders; and the worth of virtue, and the rewards of a good conscience, were more insisted upon than the blessedness of a filial faith, the power of Christ’s graces, and the ministry of the Holy Spirit.” “Our Liberal Christianity has not made its marks so conspicuously upon the structure and ritual of its churches, as upon the gardens, tombs, and temples of its cemeteries. Surely we have ritualized death more effectually than life.” All this is to be remedied, he concludes, not by leaving any of the principles of Liberal Christians, but “keeping our place under the banner of our own tribe,” going on in a frater

nal and catholic spirit, and developing "what the Protestant world now most of all needs, a truer type of independency—a type of Congregationalism that shall do for religion, what liberty has done for education." The statements here are very general, and hardly enter into the heart of the church question; but they at least show an earnest feeling of the need of a more specific church life than is now manifest amongst the Unitarians. And they imply throughout, that this church life is specifically different from that of any other form or mode of social compact and influence; that the church is a divinely appointed institution, and that its work can not be made over to any other institution; that it is to continue as a coördinate sphere, in some respects higher than can be found or realized in the state, or in merely educational training.

But the most important part of this elaborate address is the first, upon the Idea of the Coming Church. That idea is said to be "faith in the immediate presence of God in man, in such presence especially and supernaturally in Jesus Christ, and generally in all men who receive the Holy Spirit, that gave him his Divine unction and supernatural Messiahship. 'God in Christ, and through the Spirit with all true men,' this is the essence of the Christian faith, and the fellowship thereby established accords with this faith." "The Church of the Apostles began with the practical assertion of this truth, which our profoundest modern philosophy is now emphatically declaring—the truth that the complete or Divine Humanity is not contained in the individual man, but in mankind continuously and collectively; as regenerate and nurtured under Divine influence." These and similar statements indicate the divergence of the modern from the older Unitarianism. They are, to be sure, somewhat indefinite, philosophically as well as doctrinally; but they rest on ideas which were foreign from that phase of Unitarian theology, which made such an abstract sundering of divinity and humanity. The doctrine is not orthodox; but the philosophy is not inconsistent with orthodoxy. If taken strictly, some of the forms of statement might indeed be pressed into the service of pantheism, as when it is said that "the Divine Humanity" is contained "in mankind con-

tinuously and collectively ;” and that the “Broad Church” “will believe in the Incarnation and the Atonement, and embrace and complete them both in its Divine Humanity.” But we do not understand these phrases as excluding the position that in Christ the Divine Humanity is specifically and completely realized ; for Christ is distinctly recognized as “the centre of Divine influence, or head of the communion,” that is, the Church. If this is not the author’s meaning, then he has merely reproduced the theory of Strauss, that the idea of the God-man and the Atonement are not realized in Christ personally, but only in the race as a whole. But we suppose his view to be, that divinity and humanity are united in Christ, as the head of the Church, really, truly, and inseparably.

Dr. Osgood then proceeds to give the difference of his position from the Roman Catholic and the Calvinistic or “Evangelical.” Both build, he says, “upon the idea of God in Christ through the Holy Spirit, and both build upon the sacrifice of Christ for the salvation of the world: *and so far both are right.*” But the Calvinist, it seems, “limits this grace to the vicarious dogma and a mystical experience,” “to the equivocal idea of a vicarious satisfaction of inexorable justice, and to a mystical assurance of election ;” he regards “humanity as utterly depraved, and God as implacably wrathful, and bases redemption solely upon the imputed merits of a Divine victim, and the consequent release of sinners from an otherwise hopeless doom.” It is, we suppose, a fair rule to allow those from whom we differ the advantage of their own statement of their own belief. Some few extreme Calvinists may have used phrases which, to an opponent, seemed to imply that God was “implacably wrathful,” and that the believer must have “a mystical assurance of election ;” but this is not a candid statement of their real opinions. “God so loved the world that He gave his only begotten Son” for its redemption. And the “assurance of election” is not now held in our country by any denomination as of the essence of faith. And if Dr. Osgood believes, as he says he does, that man needs to be regenerated, needs to be saved, and that his salvation is of grace, and that the Church “is built upon the sacrifice of

Christ for the salvation of the world," we do not see how he can consistently deny either human depravity or "the vicarious dogma." If consistent, he must be mere orthodox. Here are points, fundamental and essential, and where mere phrases will least of all suffice. Either man is so depraved as to need redemption, or he is not; if he is, if the need of redemption is granted, then depravity is granted; if one died for all, then were all dead. And that redemption was either through the proper sacrifice of Christ in our stead, or it was not. If it was, "the vicarious dogma" must be conceded. If it be said that it was not, then the argument is to be conducted, not against the Calvinist alone, but against the Scriptures, when they declare so emphatically, that Christ "put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;" that he is "the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world;" that "Christ our passover is sacrificed for us;" that he "was offered to bear the sins of many;" that he "once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust;" that "his blood was shed for the remission of sins;" that "now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself;" that "he hath been made sin for us, who know no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him;" that "he hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us;" "whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness, that God might be just and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus." When "the vicarious dogma" can be eliminated from these and similar passages (and even Dr. Baur of Tübingen says it cannot from the two last), then will it be time to complain of "Calvinism" for holding fast to it. We have not the slightest objection to extending "the sphere of faith," as Dr. Osgood suggests; we believe that it does embrace more than "the vicarious dogma," that it allies the soul to God and Christ, and to God in Christ. We have no objection to extending the sphere "of the Divine influence;" we believe that it does extend in purpose and providence to all created beings, and that it is far better to emphasize the Di-

vine than the human influence and power in matters of religion. We believe fully and cordially in "the Divine Humanity" as centring in Christ, and as containing the profoundest idea for the philosophy of Christianity. But that Divine influence is most needed, and that God-man appeared, for the redemption of a lost race. "God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself." Here is the key-note to God's book and man's history : and this is a more philosophical, and definite, and Scriptural formula than that which Dr. Osgood gives: "God in Christ, and through the Spirit with all true men."

We believe that this Discourse first definitely suggested the application of the phrase "Broad Church" to the new Unitarian development. But this breadth must be understood with reference rather to its hopes than its present superficial dimensions. It will be, perhaps, time enough to discuss it when it has assumed a more definite shape. Criticism at present must be entirely conjectural.

In the Addresses and Sermons of Dr. Bellows we find even a sharper criticism upon the current Unitarianism, and a bolder and less consistent view of what the future may have in store for that denomination and the human race. His views are propounded with ability, and under the pressure of strong convictions and feelings; but their effect must be rather to increase than to allay suspense and commotion. If he had been an orthodox man, he would have been a powerful preacher; as it is, he is eloquent, forcible and paradoxical. The full power of his vigorous intellect seems to be cut short off, when he comes to the points and statements where a living impression is to be produced. This springs from the fact that he is oscillating between counter currents of thought: his mind plays, like the electric current, between two poles. Some of his positions are destructive; but ere you have convicted him of radicalism, he becomes retrogressive. He feels deeply the pressure of the great problems of modern thought and modern society, and is struggling to maintain a foothold in the midst of opposing currents, which at times seem to o'er-master him in turn. His position is that of a seeker after truth, and not that of a man whose feet are standing on a rock.

And he loves the search : he enlists in it with the zeal of a hunter. Like Jean Paul Richter, he might say, "It is not the goal, but the course, which makes us happy."

The general spirit of Dr. Bellows' criticism of Unitarianism is decidedly retrogressive. His idea is, that Unitarianism represented the most advanced and progressive part of Protestantism : that the service which it was to render, as a sect, to the Christian religion, is about consummated : and that it now has only the choice between going forward into irreligion and radicalism, or stepping back into the main body of the Christian host.* "The time has arrived," he says, "when Unitarianism has this option, either to turn into Rationalism, and essential, though devout and pure, *Infidelity* (which in one of its wings it threatens to become), or to turn more decidedly into the church, carrying its wealth with it, to find there its own home, and the ideas and influences it has missed in its earnest and honest exile." In his volume of Sermons (p. 18) he speaks in a different tone, as if the old Unitarianism were the only stationary body afloat : "What has gone beyond it, has fallen into Deism ; what has kept behind it, is still in motion ; what has gone one side of it, is compelled, sooner or later, to fall into its track." We confess that this puzzles us : what is the "what," and what is the "it," here ? We do not know where to find that "sober Unitarianism of twenty-five years ago," except by going back twenty-five years. And Dr.

* We notice that Dr. Bellows is already reported in Germany, where they have an extraordinary way of understanding our religious affairs. The *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* speaks of the "rapid self-dissolution" of Unitarianism in our country ; and among the indications mentions that "the influential Dr. Bellows has proposed the founding of a new church, in which every one may believe what he pleases, while its worship is to be conformed to the Roman rite." It also reports the secessions of "Rev. Coolidge" and "Rev. Prof. Huntington," and Rev. Dr. Hedge's proposition, that all Unitarians should unite in a belief in the divinity of Christ, as the only basis of a true church : says that the *Christian Inquirer* is every week making new proposals about the best mode of reviving the church life of the denomination : and "that one of the most famous authors of North America, the well-known historian, Bancroft, is among those who, without formally breaking off from their communion, complain very loudly of the sterility of their doctrines." "Theodore Parker, a few months ago, publicly renounced the Christian faith."

Bellows is now giving it some of the hardest knocks it has ever received, and advising his people to look out for something else: "to turn more decidedly into the church." He is not, indeed, as yet quite prepared to say what branch of the church they had better join. The Episcopal church would seem to come nearer on the whole to his ideal; though some of his statements, too strongly urged, have been interpreted as implying that even the Catholic is preferable to that. But still, it would be unfair to infer that he has any idea of leaving Unitarianism and becoming either Episcopal or Catholic. Yet against the many and powerful tendencies to infidelity and secularism, he insists urgently upon the idea of the church, upon a church order and ritual, and a more definite statement of those doctrines, which have been the heritage of the church from the beginning until now. "*Institutions* are the only instruments, except literature and blood, by which the riches of ages, the experience and wisdom of humanity, are handed down: institutions are the only constant and adequate teachers of the masses, and are to the average mind all that honor, conscience and intellect are to exceptional men and women." We must have "the organic, instituted, ritualized, impersonal, steady work of the church—which, taking infancy into its arms, shall baptize it, not as a family custom, but as a church sacrament;" "which shall confirm them . . . as they attain adult years;" . . . "which shall make both marriage and burial rites of the immediate altar, and give back to the communion service the mystic sanctity which two centuries have been successfully striving to dispel, without gaining by this rationality any thing except the prospect of its extinction." (*Address*, p. 45, cf. *Sermons*, p. 71.) In another passage (*Sequel*, p. 37) he says: "Thus baptism and the Lord's Supper I hold to be sacraments: not merely expressive and interesting rites, but the vehicles of special and mystic influence." Just imagine some of the earlier leaders of the Unitarian movement (Dr. Ware or Dr. Norton), or even some of its present conservative representatives, uttering, or listening to such avowals! They would surely be as much surprised as Bretschneider was, when he read Schleiermacher's *Essay on Election*.

And not less would they be startled at much which the same authority declares in respect to doctrinal belief. We have no idea of claiming Dr. Bellows as orthodox; he is a distinct and avowed Unitarian. But his whole method of handling the matter of doctrines is entirely different from the tradition of his church. "The mission of Unitarianism," he says, "was not the destruction of any of the vitalizing ideas in the past history of the church, nor the offering of itself as the exclusive and complete truth, nor the extirpation of any dogma, deemed cardinal and essential by the current and constant mind of Christendom." "The triune doxologies of the Scriptures, afterwards formulized in the Trinity of the church, were designed to give permanent protection to the profound Unitarianism of the New Testament against liabilities to pure Deism on the one hand and Anthropomorphism on the other." "Our avowed Unitarianism, neglecting the Triune formula of the New Testament, and disowning the Church formula, has logically degenerated into a Unitarianism of Deism." "Our evangelical Unitarianism is the most scriptural Trinitarianism extant. It is in deeper sympathy with Athanasius, and Augustine, and Ambrose—ay, with Luther himself—than their own modern disciples." In another passage, (pp. 24-6 of *Sequel*), "an incarnated deity, an external apparatus of doctrines and symbols," are declared to be "the essentials of religion." "The theology of Christendom . . . in the Roman, Greek, Anglican and American Church—one and the same, because, probably, the only possible form in which the essential paradoxes of Christian truth can be conveyed," "is destined, I suspect, to an eternal existence, and to be the permanent apparatus or body of divinity, through which the powers of the world to come are to make themselves felt in the world that now is. That theology, best expressed by the earlier church councils, is partly biblical, partly ecclesiastical in origin. The attempt to return to a merely and exclusively Scriptural faith, is unconsciously to ignore and discard the existence and importance of Christendom and our common humanity, for nineteen centuries." He complains of the current orthodox theology as "literalizing the truly Unitarian

Trinity of the Bible and the early Church, into a Tripersonal and Tritheistic Deity, which has resulted in producing an unscriptural, because a merely literal Unitarianism, ending in Deism; and a spurious Unitarianism, even in the Trinitarian body itself, ending in Anthropomorphism."

These, and similar avowals which we might cite, would seem to indicate a strong disposition to return to the substance of the old theology, especially in relation to God and to Christ. But we must not be too hasty with such inferences, even though they be made on the basis of declarations in the last written essay of the author. For in the volume of Sermons, previously delivered, but published after the *Address* and the *Sequel*, we find statements which seem inconsistent with the above concessions, if these are to be taken at all in a strict sense. He there tells us (p. 34), "The substitution of Christ for God is only the latest and least offensive remnant of idolatry. . . . Christ was a creature—a glorious and holy creature, yet a creature—and therefore as incapable of taking God's place as he is now shocked at the worship he receives. [How did Dr. Bellows ascertain this fact?] We may still hear him saying of his idolaters, what he said of his crucifiers: 'Father, forgive them, they know not what they do!' Let us worship neither humanity, nor nature, nor goodness nor Christ." And in the twentieth sermon, on "Christ, the Head of all Principality and Power," in some respects one of the best in the volume, we fail to find any more distinct announcement; the amount of it is, that Christ, by his influence, and in his church, is leading, as he has led, the course of history, and all lesser, less spiritual, influences are subordinate and subject to this. But as to the person, the nature, and the work of Christ, there is no distinct opinion expressed. And now, we confess, that we are quite at a loss to know how any well-read student can assert that Christ is only "a creature," and that the worship of him is "idolatry," and at the same time declare that "an incarnated Deity" is essential to religion, avow a "deeper sympathy with Athanasius, and Augustine, and Ambrose," than the orthodox have, and plead in favor of a return to the theology expressed "in the earlier church

councils." There may be some mysterious abstraction in the background, which reconciles these things; but Athanasius, Ambrose, and Augustine, and all the earlier church councils would protest with one voice against the position that Christ was a creature; resistance to this view is the very heart and life of all their teachings. To be both an Arian and an Athanasian, a modern Unitarian and a Catholic according to the consent of the earlier councils, is a feat which can be accomplished only in a dreamy mood, and not in the light of clear reflection.

Besides these liturgical hankerings, and these indefinite longings for a theology which shall be both Unitarian and Athanasian, the chief point of theological interest in the volume of Dr. Bellows, is what he says upon the subject of depravity and sin. His positions and defects here are a key to the inconclusiveness of his system, and show us, we think, why he breaks off just where he does in his reasonings, and in his theology. While some of his descriptions of sin and evil are as forcible as almost any that can be found even in Calvinistic theology, yet his underlying theory about sin, prevents him from carrying out his positions to their legitimate consequences. He does not bring sin into its necessary relations, in the Christian system, on the one hand with law, and on the other hand with redemption. It is with him essentially "educational" and "disciplinary," a "fall" into a condition of progress. It is not taken strictly, as opposed to an immutable law and divine holiness, and, consequently, is not viewed as needing satisfaction or propitiation. At the same time he allows that it presents an insoluble mystery; "If any man think he has solved the problem of evil, and reconciled its beginning, or its continuance in the universe, with the supposition of the Divine Omnipotence and Infinite Benevolence, he has nothing left to learn, and may, indeed, boast of understanding the Almighty to perfection." It is "a profound insoluble mystery" (p. 169). "Man's weakness, sorrow, sinfulness are facts, dreadful facts, of immediate and pressing urgency. You may not think it fair that an Infinite Being should have given you a precarious and exposed existence. But the fact

remains ; you have a precarious and exposed existence. You may not understand the justice of hereditary weakness and constitutional tendencies to moral obliquity, but it does not change the fact" (p. 175). "There is hardship, there is difficulty, there is seeming injustice—nay, there are terrible and awful issues hanging over us. They come from a mysterious source ; *a fatal necessity* ; they grow out of what we do not and cannot understand ; call it fate, call it mystery, call it Satan, but do not call it God. At any rate call it not God's character, if you ascribe it to God's nature. God's nature may involve tremendous necessities, may be grounded in inflexible justice, may require a hard and retributive code, may have something, or much, or all, of the pitiless mechanism of nature, sounding on its solemn and fearful way through the moral universe, without respect of persons. But we know little or nothing, and can understand little or nothing of this. God's character we do know and can understand" (pp. 172, 173). And so, with all this terrible background of evil, having its source even, it may be, in the divine nature, we must trust in God's mercy and love, which we can understand. But that awful justice and this benignant love, that sinfulness and this pardon—how can we think and mediate between the two ? Has theology here nothing more to offer than the statement, that sin is a fatal necessity, and that God has revealed his mercy to us ? Is mercy the counterpart and solution of a fixed necessity ? Has it any sense in such a relation ?

This topic is pursued more fully in the fourteenth sermon "On the Origin and Quality of Sin." "If Adam fell, the race rose by his fall ; he fell up, and nothing happier for our final fortunes ever occurred than when the innocents of the garden learned their shame, and fled into the hardship and experience of a disciplinary and growing humanity." And he refers, in support of this view, to the "popular hypothesis," that "sin abounded, that grace might much more abound." "Would the Church consent to give up its Christ, to receive its unfallen Adam ? But for the fallen Adam, according to its theory, we could not have had the risen Christ." Very well : if over against the fall into sin we put the redemption in Christ, and if sin mean sin, and redemption mean redemption, and if

without redemption sin be only evil and that continually—we have the substance of the theology which Dr. Bellows most earnestly opposes. If grace be necessary in order to make the fall, “a fall up,” if God must needs interpose for rescue—the theory that sin in itself is desirable, and merely educational, falls to the ground. And here is a point where strong and logical thinking will not be satisfied by evasive descriptions. We must take either the naturalistic or the biblical view of sin. If we take the former, we cannot flee to “grace” and “Christ” for the solution of the difficulty. Some of Dr. Bellows’ statements, in fact, are very much nearer to the old Hopkinsian theory, “that sin is the necessary means of the greatest good,” than to any current orthodox opinion; a theory which the old Unitarianism held in particular abhorrence. Only, on the one hand, he does not view sin in its real nature; and, on the other, he labors under strange misapprehensions about the orthodox view; as when he says, “that the radical vice of the popular way of thinking about moral evil, lies in the supposition that God did not originally design or anticipate our earthly experience as a race;” that there was an “unexpected falling away from perfection, in our first ancestor.” Who, pray, represent this “popular” view? Has the author never heard of the doctrine of divine decrees?

But we should do injustice to the writer if we failed to give other statements about the nature of sin, though they may seem inconsistent with his main position. He speaks of it as not merely a mistake, and weakness, but “a cause for self-reproach, remorse, repentance. It is not that one’s happiness is impaired, but one’s being wronged, and God’s holiness insulted or grieved.” (P. 231.) And still more strongly: “Sins have a quality of irreparableness about them, which gives a certain *awful and infinite quality to wrong*. You can repent of sin; you can repair your wrong as far as others have directly suffered by it; but *how can you heal the wound your sin has made in the principle of justice*—how prevent your disobedience from encouraging rebellion and infecting other moral natures as weak as your own?” Now here is just the turning-point; the matter is stated sharply; the problem is

put ; the solution is to be given ; and what does our author say ? He rejects the "sacrifice on the cross" as containing that solution, and all that is left for him is to say—"that there is evidently in the Divine mind one thing worse than sin, and that is *the absence of all opportunities of moral life and spiritual goodness.*" But this, we think, with all deference to the honest purpose and plainness of the writer, is a mere slipping away from the point and problem : for sin is the *opposite* of moral life and spiritual goodness. And his own question looks him full and earnestly in the face : How can you heal the wound your sin has made in the principle of justice ? He confesses that repentance cannot do it. What then can ? Can any thing conceivable excepting the Divine sufferer and sacrifice upon Calvary ? But this solution Dr. B. repudiates, and misunderstands. He says in another passage (p. 237) : "Positively considered, sin may be no less an evil, wickedness no less a common fact, the perversity of human beings, and their depraving influence over each other, no smaller, than the Westminster Catechism, in its darkest passages, represents ; but Calvinism can give no account of the origin, nature, and cure of sin, which is not shocking to the heart, conscience and hope. It makes sin as desperate, final, and overwhelming an evil in the sight of God, as it is terrible, trying, and hazardous to us." But, what Calvinism makes, or what Calvinist ever made, sin to be "a final and overwhelming evil" in God's sight ? This is mere rhetoric. A sadder and more terrible view of sin, and its consequences, is that which is given us by Dr. Bellows. For according to him sin is a necessity in God's moral government, it is a necessity to each and all of us ; it demands remorse and repentance ; and yet the repentance cannot heal the wounds which sin has inflicted on justice. In fact we do not see but that he holds whatever is most difficult, "desperate," and "terrible," in the orthodox view, without the grand relief which is found in the provision for redemption. He believes sin to be a necessity, to involve certain irreparable evils, to be the necessary part and lot of all men without exception ; and then, by way of relief, he talks about education and discipline and struggle. But over against the fact of sin

and death, the orthodox view puts a redemption provided on the part of God, to restore the ruin of the fall, and offered unto all. Neither view, it may be, solves the whole problem of sin; but the orthodox view leaves fallen man face to face with a proffered salvation. Which of these systems is justly obnoxious to the charge of "laying off our obligations upon a depraved nature?" which most "diminishes the sanctions of the moral law?" which "encourages the soul to think duty a hardship, law a curse, virtue an impossibility, and salvation an adroit evasion?" (Pp. 238, 239.) Which theory grapples with, and which evades, the great moral problem, how a holy God can pardon and save a sinful creature, in consistency with the claims of his holiness? We do not see, we cannot find, that this volume offers any solution whatever of this greatest of all moral problems. The author says that he has never been able to make out "much practical difference between those who affirm and those who deny the depravity of human nature" (p. 259); that he "has no difficulty in admitting that human nature, considered by itself, left to itself, leads, by its very and intentional constitution, to self-destruction;" and that no man's sense of sin is diminished by the fact that "his nature inevitably drives him into sin." And yet, admitting all this, there is only a partial and feeble recognition of the pressure of the main problem, which these very statements call up. That problem has weighed as no other, upon the minds of the profoundest thinkers of the race. Paul, Augustine, Calvin, Edwards, and the Christian Church as a whole, in all its great divisions, have found the only clue to a solution in the atoning sacrifice of the God-man. The heart of the difficulty is not touched, as long as we talk only of God's mercy, and Divine influence, and moral struggles, and aspirations, and do not fairly meet the question as to the connection between the pardon of sin and the sacrifice of Christ in our stead.

Upon this question the most definite statements of Dr. Bellows are in his discourse upon "The Suffering Christ," in which he denies that Christ's sufferings are "strictly substitutional, or literally vicarious." But the substitution against which he argues, is that of a commercial atonement, or of a

literal transfer of moral character. He seems to imagine that this is the orthodox view ; that Christ, in his short agony upon the cross, really suffered the pains of sin, and bore the actual sum of all the anguish from remorse and guilt due to myriads of sinners, through the ages of eternity ; that he suffered "*as the guilty, or what the guilty suffer.*" He seems to think that there is no intermediate view between this—which almost all the orthodox reject, and that which represents Christ's sufferings as of the same kind with those of martyrs and philanthropists. But this is to neglect and not at all to explain, the emphatic and reiterated assertions of Scripture as to the intimate connection between Christ's sacrificial death and the removal from us of the penalty of the law ; "who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree;" by whose "righteousness the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life;" who was sent "to be the propitiation for our sins;" who was "made of a woman, and made under the law, to redeem them that was made under the law;" "in whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace." These and kindred passages certainly put the sufferings and death of Christ in entirely different relations to our pardon and justification, from any recognized in this Discourse. Martyrs may help us in our spiritual conflicts and spiritual growth, but Christ alone hath reconciled us unto God.

So hostile is Dr. Bellows to the system, which he always calls "Calvinistic," so deep-rooted is his prejudice against it, that he says that Romanism is "a princely and magnificent theology" in comparison with it. "I say, advisedly, that if Protestantism endorses the vulgar notion of a God-cursed world—a fallen race—a commercial atonement—a doomed and hell-devoted humanity—a mysterious conversion—a church, which is a sort of life-boat, hanging around a wreck, that may carry off a few women and selfishly-affrighted men, leaving the bolder, braver, larger proportion to go down with the ship ; if this be the sum and substance of religion . . . then, it is not so true to human nature, its wants and woes, its various and manifold tastes, talents, and faculties, as the old Catholic sys-

tem ; and that, instead of trembling at the growth and prospects of Romanism in this country, we should more reasonably rejoice in its triumphs, as the worthier occupant of the confidence and affection of the people." (P. 165.) Did the writer really weigh what he has here stated ? Each clause admits of criticism ; the misconceptions are as numerous as the phrases. Does he not himself believe in a "fallen race" ? Who believes in "a commercial atonement" ? If humanity be fallen, is it not "doomed and hell-devoted," without grace ? Can conversion be other than "mysterious" ? Is not the Church "a life-boat" hanging round "a wreck" ? Who believes that only "a few women and selfishly-affrighted men" are carried off ? And who holds, that "the sum and substance of religion" is found in such caricatures ? And then, as to the Roman Catholic church ; by going into it, will he escape any one of the dogmas, which he so scornfully repudiates ? Does not that Church hold, as strictly as the Calvinist, and in a more "vulgar" form, to the idea of a "God-cursed world," "a fallen race," an atoning sacrifice, a "doomed humanity," and that *the* church is only the only "life-boat," and that conversion is "mysterious" ? And does it not, besides all this, hold to sacramental grace, and episcopal succession, and auricular confession, and penances, and masses for souls, and purgatory, and papal supremacy and infallibility, and that out of its pale there is no salvation ? Does it not trample on the rights of conscience, and is it not the foe of that free speech which allows Dr. Bellows to say such things ? If he went into that communion, how much longer could he talk as openly as he does now ? What would he gain by exchanging the Calvinism, that has been at the root of our civil liberties, for the Romanism which denounces free speech, and a free press, and especially all Unitarian heresies ? Did Dr. Bellows speak "advisedly," when he wrote that sentence ?

There are other points in these Discourses on which we intended to have made some comments. It would be an easy task to show manifold apparent inconsistencies in one who writes so strongly, so earnestly, and who is striving so resolutely to hold fast somewhere and to something, in the midst of such contending influences. He feels the full force of the

antagonisms, without being able to suggest any reconciliation. His strongest arguments and deepest convictions are all a revolt against Unitarianism as it has been, and an anticipation of something very different in future; but strong ties, and a strong will keep him for the present moored, though in the midst of a storm. He feels deeply that historical Unitarianism has been sundered from the progressive history of Christ's Church; that it is and has been outside of the great achievements of that church, separated from its theology and from its proper life. And he knows that this state of things cannot continue; and thus his justification of Unitarianism has chief respect to the past. He views it there as a necessary outgrowth of the Protestant principles of the rights of reason and of free inquiry. But he here confounds, as it seems to us, Protestantism as a religious movement, as a progress of the Church, with Protestantism in its relations to civil history and intellectual activity. As a religious movement Protestantism is unintelligible when cut loose from the Bible, and from the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Depravity, Regeneration, and Justification by Faith alone. These are its heart and soul, and the rights of reason and of private judgment are but its exterior form. And just so far as Unitarianism has abandoned these doctrines, and substituted natural religion and natural ethics for them, just so far it has departed from the true genius of Protestantism, as a religious reformation; and just so far its results are merely negative, and have not contributed to, but rather hindered, the real progress of vital Christianity. Of course, then, we think that the fruits with which it will return, if it does, into the main body of the Church, will be fruits meet for repentance. Unconsciously, too, Dr. Bellows exaggerates the value and importance of this Unitarian movement in relation to Christendom. To those who are outside of their pale, the first emotion is one of surprise at finding (in the *Sequel*), that the audience of All Souls' Church "represents:" 1. "The Independent Congregation and Church" itself, there congregated; 2. "The Unitarian Denomination; 3. The Protestant world; 4. The Nineteenth Century and this New Country." This may all be very true,

and consonant with the name of the church ("All Souls'"); and it is in harmony with the philosophical tendency of viewing each particular thing in its connections with the universe. But, practically, we suppose that the same thing might be said, with equal philosophical justice, of one or two hundred other congregations in the city of New-York. Learning, thought, literature, culture and wealth, high social position and moral aspirations, are undoubtedly found now, as formerly, among the Unitarians; but not at all now in preponderance, even in New England. As a denomination, Unitarianism has been steadily losing, in relative importance, for the last twenty years. It may console itself by the reflection, that others are adopting its principles; we may also comfort ourselves with the thought that its leaders are abandoning so many of its old positions, and taking up new weapons, both defensive and offensive.

There are not wanting indications that the controversy as to the Divinity of Christ, and the Trinity, Depravity, and the Atonement, is to be revived. The defection of Dr. Huntington has already called out several earnest criticisms. Some of these have been written, apparently, under the influence of strong personal feelings. They attack his sermon on the Trinity upon exegetical and historical and verbal grounds; but in doing this, some of the writers make such concessions as indicate a very different style of thought from that shown in the controversy thirty or forty years ago. The Unitarians have collected in volumes scraps of orthodox concessions; the same thing might be done with their recent literature. It is evident that the philosophical basis of the Unitarianism of to-day is quite different from that of its leaders in the first quarter of the century. Thus the critic in the *Christian Examiner* says: "In our comments upon it [Dr. Huntington's Sermon] we wish it understood once for all, that we are not arguing against the Trinity as conceived by the early Church, and expressed in the so-called Apostles' Creed." "A triad of Christian sanctities—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost—is one thing; the doctrine of Tripersonality, whether true or false, is another and a very different thing." In a note, the writer says that he uses

the word "Trinity" in "deference to ecclesiastical custom to denote the aboriginal Christian doctrine of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost," and adds, "that the universal prevalence of the doctrine itself in the early Church is patent to every student of ecclesiastical history." "It is a matter of regret that 'Unitarians' of a former generation were led by their needful and timely protest against Trinitarian dogmatism into a position of seeming hostility, and, in some cases, of real indifference to this doctrine." The same article, while contending that the Tripersonal doctrine is not found in the New Testament, also says: "With the notion itself—the Athanasian conception of the Godhead—we have no quarrel. As an article of speculative philosophy, we have not only no objection to it, but are willing to confess a speculative leaning towards it." This is another illustration of one of Dr. Huntington's statements, that "the ascendant school of philosophical thought to-day is unequivocally Trinitarian," although the same article says, "that the audacity of this statement is too comical for serious discussion."

As another indication of this tendency to dissolving views, we notice a letter going the rounds of the newspapers, written by Rev. O. B. Frothingham, in reply to the call of a new society in New York to be their pastor, in which they style themselves the "Third Unitarian Church." He objects to this, in part on the ground that "Unitarianism is popularly, and not unjustly, regarded as a system of rationalism and moralism, an intellectual system, critical and perceptive." This, he says, does not correctly designate the "Liberal Christians of the New or Spiritual School." "We ought by this time to *make* it [Christianity] large enough to embrace Unitarians and Universalists, Friends and 'Come-outers,' in the same walls of worship and teaching." This term "Liberal" is certainly an apt and sufficient phrase to cover a multitude of opinions.

We might easily multiply instances of the same kind, for hardly a Unitarian book or periodical is published without similar criticisms of their past history, and indefinite prophecies of a different future. Many old prejudices, which were taken almost as first truths in the times of their fathers, are now de-

liberately abandoned. Yet we would not over-estimate either the intrinsic importance or the implied concessions of these changes. They do not show that these writers are orthodox, in some cases they even imply a farther remove from orthodoxy than the old positions. But they do indicate, as we have already intimated, a change in the statement of the points and in the method of controversy. They prove that an entirely different style of philosophy, a different and more liberal mode of judging the accredited formulas of the Church, and even a different mode of interpreting Scripture, have been silently making their way in the Unitarian body.

The Unitarianism of thirty and forty years ago was generally, in speculation, upon the basis of the philosophy of common-sense and of natural ethics. While allowing, as did most of its prominent representatives, a specific historical revelation, recorded in the Scriptures, yet they subjected its teachings to the criticism and standard of what they called human reason and morality, without any very accurate definition of what was meant by reason, or of the metes and bounds of moral science. The truths of natural religion and the maxims of duty were recognized; and the main effort was to find these more clearly and fully in the Bible. The tendency was rational and moral, rather than strictly religious; and it was aided, though not initiated, by some New England speculations as to the nature of virtue and the natural ability of man to fulfill the moral law, taken out of their proper connections and limitations in the orthodox system. That God is one, and one Person; that, as Dr. Bellows satirizes it, "it is very good to be good, and very amiable to be amiable, and very happy to be happy," and that man can and ought to be virtuous, and if he is not, that he ought to be punished more or less; that if he sins a good God will naturally and readily forgive him if he will only repent, and that he ought to repent; these, and kindred positions were held and preached, perhaps as earnestly and eloquently as they could be. That Christ was a kind of second God, that he is to be obeyed and loved, and that in some way his life and death had some important connection with our being reconciled to God, was not denied. But at the

same time the resurrection of Christ was more fondly dwelt upon than his death, and next to the Dignity of Human Nature, and God as Father, the Resurrection has perhaps been the most favorite and inspiring theme of the most eloquent Unitarian discourses. But the Trinity, it was declared, especially in the Athanasian Creed, involved, if not mathematical, yet absolute contradictions; the Incarnation implied a union of entirely opposite and inconsistent qualities, and led to as gross absurdities as the doctrine of transubstantiation; the Atonement was utterly contradictory to the first principles of that justice which the orthodox said that it satisfied; total depravity did dishonor to both God and man; and Regeneration consisted in moral improvement, and not in a mysterious new birth of the human soul in the divine likeness. But such mild affirmations and strong negatives could not long satisfy their most earnest and thoughtful preachers, and accordingly Everett, Sparks, Bancroft, Emerson, Ripley, and many others, abandoned the pulpit for more congenial work, under the influence and pressure, in part, of a philosophical system, the very opposite of that which led to the original Unitarianism.

This change began about twenty-five years ago, when Coleridge was studied, Cousin translated, German philosophy imported, and historical criticism applied in a wider and more generous spirit. It was unexpectedly discovered that the principles of common-sense and natural ethics could not explain every thing; that they could not satisfactorily account even for what is in the mind, to say nothing of the Bible and the religious history of mankind. Religion began to be distinguished from ethics, just as it happened with the German rationalism, when Schleiermacher opened his fruitful career. The new phase of thought was called Transcendentalism. Dr. Norton (the then Rev.) George Ripley had a fierce battle about it. Emerson had already abandoned the sermon for the essay, and retired to the communion of nature and the world of ideas. Theodore Parker reproduced the criticism of Strauss, with a feigned sadness, and showed to bolder minds what natural reason and conscience would lead men to; of course he was left to himself, the only form of ban still retained. Brownson

tried Unitarianism for a few months, and ended by writing a letter to Dr. Channing upon the Eternal Generation of the Son. New learning and speculations have got hold of the *Christian Examiner*; and the *North American* is conducted in a "liberal spirit," which no longer means, as once it did, opposition to orthodoxy. And in fact it has come to be a favorite way of praising a Unitarian discourse, to say that you could hardly tell that the preacher was not orthodox.

In the sphere of doctrines this change was indicated chiefly in the mode in which the Divine nature began to be spoken of in relation to humanity. The abstract sundering of divinity and humanity, the conception of God as merely outside of, and apart from, humanity, has been generally abandoned. And the notion of a mere uni-personality is also relaxing its hold upon the imagination, where it was once so firmly fixed. The Arian view of Christ is consequently given up by the ripest thinkers; such a second deity, who must be called divine, but who is not truly so, cannot long be thought about as a real person by consistent and logical minds. Sabellianism, which in this respect is the opposite of Arianism, has an increased number of advocates. And a liking is even avowed by some for the Trinity, as a philosophical speculation. This change was indicated in the most significant manner in the historical discourse of Hon. George Bancroft, which about six years ago elicited so much discussion. Here it is distinctly asserted that "the truth of the Triune God dwells in every system of thought that can pretend to vitality;" that "the idea of an Incarnate God carried peace into the bosom of mankind;" that "from the time that this truth of the Triune God was clearly announced, he was no longer dimly conceived as a shadowy causality," but "appeared as goodness itself, incarnate and interceding, redeeming and inspiring," "the infinite cause, the infinite mediator, the infinite in and with the universe as the paraclete and comforter." Arianism, too, was here declared to be an attempt "to paganize Christianity," and the triumph of Athanasius was interpreted as the triumph of "reason" over "the party of superstition." Many among the Unitarians were then scandalized at these statements, for they

had not began to see and know, whither their own tendencies were carrying them ; but some, who reproached this distinguished historian six years ago, are now ready to avow similar opinions. Others, again, who deny that the Incarnation and Trinity are in the New Testament seem quite fond of them as philosophical speculations. With several, the only remaining difficulty would appear to be about the application of the word "Person," and its metaphysical definition. One writer, who is considered in some sort a representative of the Unitarian Association, has recently said, in substance, that he has little or no objection to such a Trinity as is taught in the writings of Moses Stuart, Dr. Bushnell, and Jeremy Taylor.

As far, then, as the divinity of Christ, the Incarnation, and even the Trinity, are concerned, the old Unitarian system is losing its hold. Equally so is it in respect to the outward forms and rites of the Church in worship. Here, as we have seen, there is a strong tendency towards a liturgy and ritual, and to reinstating the sacraments of the Church in something of their old significancy.

Not less marked is the reaction in relation to morals as compared with religion. None of these more advanced thinkers hold the merely ethical system of religion with any thing like the definiteness and tenacity with which it was formerly maintained ; in insisting upon the necessity of Divine influence, and upon a specific religious, as distinguished from a merely moral element, many of them, in theory, are even far in advance of some thinkers who are reputed orthodox. They do not press natural ability, and the theory of moral government, and the abstract definitions of virtue and vice as consisting merely in volitions or exercises, into extreme and unscriptural forms. Repentance, without grace, merely in the use of natural ability, they would concede to be inconceivable, and subversive of the very idea of a religious state of mind. This is the case with both Dr. Osgood and Dr. Bellows ; however far they may still be from evangelical formulas, they have at least thought and felt beyond the metes and bounds of a system of theology, which takes its constructive ideas and its shaping influence from the domain of ethics, and which frames all its definitions in accord-

ance with an abstract theory of moral government. Neither of them would imagine for a moment that, by an assumed power to the contrary, and by making happiness the spring and end of moral agency, and by resolving all virtue and vice into mere exercises, they were very far advanced in either the theoretical or practical part of theology, and had the only basis for a theodicy.

And this may serve to give a useful hint as to the best mode of dealing with Unitarian objections, and reconciling them, if we try to do so, with the orthodox system. Their objections have sometimes led orthodox writers to lower the tone of their system; the doctrines of sin, regeneration, and atonement, and even the Trinity, have now and then been softened down. The divine side of theology has been lowered, and its human side emphasized, so as to act upon those without. But just in proportion as any Unitarians are ever found approximating to the orthodox system, in that same proportion it will be found, that they cast off these innovations. No theory of power to the contrary, or of moral government, ever turned one of them from the error of his ways. The grand and mysterious truths and doctrines of the Christian system alone have such power or influence.

As we have already seen, however, with all these apparent approximations to orthodox views, and softening of the rigor of the old Unitarian notions, there is still one point, in which the opposition of these divines to the orthodox system is almost unabated; and that is, in relation to the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ. And it is natural, it is, we had almost said, necessary that this should be so; for to concede this, is the total renunciation of Unitarian belief and fellowship, as distinct from the orthodox; it is the turning-point in the soul's deepest experience and vital renewal. For this matter of religion, after all, is not a matter of formulas or of reflection; it is the soul's deepest experience in relation to its profoundest wants and needs. A man may hold to the Incarnation intellectually, and to the Trinity philosophically, and believe in divine influence, and like the external order and services of the Church, and wish to have hymns and prayers

and the sacraments fairly and solemnly celebrated; and he may still remain content in the fellowship of those who deny the Incarnation, and deny the Trinity, and insist upon morality rather than piety. But when he comes to know sin in all its power, and to feel its just condemnation by a holy God, and when he receives the Lord Jesus as the one only sacrifice for sins, and believes himself to be pardoned and justified only for His sake, so that he can truly say, that there is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus; then, and then only, the last vestige of Unitarianism is driven from his soul, for he is vitally invited to Christ, and lives the life he lives in the flesh by faith in the Son of God, who loved us and gave himself to die for us.

What the ultimate influence of such discussions and changes may be upon the Unitarians as a distinct religious communion, it is, of course, difficult to prognosticate. If it be conceded, that their distinctive teachings and work have been rather negative and critical, than positive and constructive, then, of course, it is implied that their distinct organization is exceptional and transitional. The most thoughtful minds among them do not believe, we suppose, that their mission is to propagate or develop Christianity on any large scale, or that they will make the Christian church, in spite of its whole history, Unitarian. Individual societies may continue for some time to exist, particularly in our large cities. But just as far as the members of this denomination enter into, and heartily appreciate, the general progressive movement of the Christian church, as the appointed instrumentality for redeeming the world and reforming the whole of society, just so far they will feel impelled to leave the precincts of a merely local and strongly individual movement. And such Discourses and Addresses are admirably adapted to promote this end; not indeed by their direct teaching, but by their indirect and inevitable influence. Let the Unitarian ministry and periodicals accustom their people to hear the words Incarnation, Trinity, and Regeneration; let them be told often enough that the historic theology of the Church on these points was substantially true; let them be exhorted to the use of the historic formulas of

worship and praise, and to reverence for the mysterious power of the sacraments; and then, let them feel the renewing breath of the Divine Spirit, giving repentance for sin and faith in the Lord Jesus; and it needs no prophet to foretell the result. The merely critical objections of their teachers to the names and formulas of doctrine, metaphysical and logical and exegetical criticisms of terminology, will have but little effect; they will crave and seize the substance, and go where it can be found. The vital and substantial truths expressed, and best expressed in the grand old words of Christ's church, from the beginning until now, in the Incarnation and the Trinity, in Justification and Regeneration, in the Church and its Sacraments, in the Resurrection and the Judgment, in Heaven and Hell, these will shape in the future, as they have shaped in the past, the religious history of a race, which became apostate in the first Adam, and finds its only refuge in the second Adam, which is the Lord from heaven. And any theory of a Coming Church and of a Broad Church, which ignores these vital and essential truths, is but a creation of the imagination, has no root in Scripture or in history, and does not appeal to the permanent and indestructible religious wants of the human race.

The ultimate question to which the inquiries of the more profound and resolute thinkers, in the Unitarian denomination and out of it, are turning with increased earnestness, is, doubtless, that respecting the Coming Church; or, rather, what form or forms the one church, the church of the Redeemed, will assume, so that it may still be, as it has been, the most potent and shaping power in the world. Both the writers we have been reviewing make their speculations hinge here; their discontent with the past and present is balanced and allayed by their hopes for the future. Both recognize, too, the fact, that a critical and negative and rationalistic tendency can never build up a strong and growing church. Individualism, and the right of free inquiry, and opposition to past errors, and the truths of natural religion, and the principles of natural ethics, are not, and cannot be, church-building powers and factors. And vain, too, must be the attempt to construct a church, to

give solemnity to its worship, and life to its sacraments, and efficiency to its preaching, and zeal in its works of evangelical propagandism, unless it is based on those doctrines and truths, which respond to, and solve, the highest problems of human thought and human destiny; sentimentalism and æsthetics may have their part and play, if these other things, the great facts and dogmas, be presupposed. But without a knowledge of sin and of redemption, all the arts in the world, all that is beautiful and fair in ministrations and ritual, will pass away like some current fashion. The sacraments of the church have no significancy, and all æsthetic adornment of them will be unavailing, when they are dissociated from those doctrines which give them their mysterious force. Without the system and truths of grace, no church can long abide in such a world as ours; it will necessarily be resolved into some scheme of social improvement or moral reform. Whatever else the Coming Christ may be and do, it will be a church of the Trinity, of the Incarnation and of Redemption; and it must, from its very nature, be ever doing its one work of redeeming men from the bondage of sin, and bringing them into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

ART. IV.—THE JEWISH CHRISTIAN'S NOTION OF A REDEEMER.

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THE Hebrew verb *goal* (גאל), besides its ordinary signification of redeeming or buying back, had in the Jewish polity a peculiar meaning, at once more specific and more enlarged, more specific in its personal and more enlarged in its official application. The *goel* (part. גאל) was a well-defined person, and not any one who saw fit to redeem any thing, and his duties were more than that of simple redemption, although his title etymologically only pointed to that duty. Three distinct (though related) tasks belonged to him. The *first* was *redemp-*

tion proper, and is thus described in Lev. xxv. 25-28. "If thy brother be waxen poor and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold. And if the man have none to redeem it (Heb. *no Goel*), and himself be able to redeem it, then let him count the years of the sale thereof and restore the overplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession. But if he be not able to restore it to him, then that which he sold shall remain in the hand of him that hath bought it until the year of jubilee; and in the jubilee it shall go out, and he shall return unto his possession." In the same chapter (Lev. xxv. 47-55), the same system is applied to the Jew who had sold himself into bondage. In these cases, the land or the person was to be redeemed by the Goel. The *second* task of the Goel was *avenging*. A murderer was to be sought by the murdered man's Goel and by him be put to death. See Num. xxxv. 9-28. In the 19th verse it is "The revenger of blood (נָגֵל הַדָּם) himself shall slay the murderer." The Goel, in this case, had the full title of Goel Haddam; yet the simple word Goel was also here used, as in Num. xxxv. 12. In Deut. xix. 6, this law is again alluded to. See also Josh. xx. 1-6, and 2 Sam. xiv. 11. The *third* task or duty of the Goel was the *marriage of the deceased's wife*. If a man died childless, the wife of the deceased could not marry without unto a stranger, but her husband's brother was to marry her and raise up children in the name of his deceased brother. (Deut. xxv. 5-10.) The word "brother" is here evidently to be taken in a wide sense as "kinsman," as we find from Ruth iv. 1-13. From the same reference we find that he who thus married the widow was the Goel. Such, then, were the three duties of the Goel, redemption, avenging, and marriage of the widow. While these were the institutions of the Mosaic law, we have reason to believe that these offices existed among men long before the Mosaic law, although not in this precise and consolidated form. They formed part, probably, of the original patriarchal revelation, which was far fuller than the fragmentary exhibition in the Scriptures, as we know by the sacrifice of Abel and

the allusions of Job. We find, for example, that Judah gives the widow of his son Er to his second son, Onan (Gen. xxxviii. 8), "to raise up seed for his brother." That this proceeding was not a mere human custom, but a divine law, is proved by the Lord's displeasure at Onan's refusal to raise up children in his brother's name (verse 10). When Onan was dead, it became the duty of Shelah, the third son of Judah, to marry the childless widow (verse 11). In this case it was literally a brother, who acted the part of Goel; but we need not confine the usage to brothers, if we regard the Jewish custom in the case of Ruth and Boaz as any indication of the pre-Mosaic system. In regard, again, to the character of the Goel as the avenger of blood, we may, perhaps, regard the conduct of Moses (before the law) in slaying the Egyptian oppressor of his kinsman as influenced by a common usage of avenging, carried in this case to an extraordinary application for one not murdered, but in danger of becoming so. For, certainly, Moses' act has not the appearance of a mere hot-blooded interference. There was a higher motive and a high meaning in it, as we see from Stephen's allusion to it (Acts vii. 25). But be this as it may, we know that the kinsman-avenger is a character known in heathen lands and in all ages; and it must be observed that his avenging is not a gratification merely, but a duty, performed often where there is no gratification. It bears, thus, all the features of a religious obligation. Whether other nations than the Jews imposed a duty of repurchasing for a kinsman a lost inheritance, we cannot say, but it would not alter the force of the Jewish law and its typical meaning, if this characteristic also of the Goel were found to be part of a primitive traditional revelation. In the Jewish law this matter appears crystallized. The three duties of the Goel are seen accurately defined, and were well understood by God's ancient people.

From the triple meaning of the word Goel, all regarding deliverance from poverty, disgrace, or misfortune, it was natural that the word should be used generally for a deliverer, even where the technical meaning (if we may use the term) is wanting. But yet we must guard against supposing that its

Biblical use, out of the Pentateuch, is thus general. If the word had a peculiar and important meaning in the Jewish law and mind, it is probable that a Jewish prophet would use it with reference to this specific sense. Hence, when we see the formula so often used by Isaiah, "Thus saith Jehovah, your Goel, the Holy One of Israel" (Isaiah xliii. 14, etc. etc.), we cannot believe that the prophet speaking thus solemnly of the Jehovah of Israel can call Him a Goel in any other than an Israelitish sense. He is the great spiritual Goel. *First*, He will restore their inheritance. *Secondly*, He will destroy their enemies. *Thirdly*, He will marry their poor widowed nation. ("Thy Maker is thy *Husband*; Jehovah of hosts is His name; and thy *Goel* the Holy One of Israel." Isaiah liv. 5.) Here is primarily a reference to God's position towards the Jews in relation to their treatment by Babylon, but secondarily, and chiefly, in relation to their treatment by sin.

Let us now pass from prophets to apostles. Four Greek verbs, or their cognate nouns, are translated in our English version by *redeem*, *redemption*, etc. These are λυτρώω, ἀπολυτρώω, ἀγοράζω, and ἐξαγοράζω. The first (λυτρώω) occurs (either as a verb or noun) seven times, used by Luke, Peter, and Paul. The second (ἀπολυτρώω) occurs (only as a noun) ten times, used by Luke and Paul. The third (ἀγοράζω) occurs (only as a verb) six times in the sense of redemption, so used by Paul and John. It is also frequently used for a simple purchase. In Rev. v. 9, is an instance of the former use; and in Luke xiv. 18, is an instance of the latter use. The fourth (ἐξαγοράζω) occurs (only as a verb) four times, used by Paul alone. Three times our translators have rendered ἀγοράζω by the *verbo* "buy," where they would have been as much justified in making it "redeem," as in Rev. v. 9. These three places are, 1 Cor. vi. 20 and vii. 23; "Ye are bought with a price," and 2 Pet. ii. 1, "The Lord that bought them." There is still another word rendered by "purchase" which is used three times in the New Testament, and may be considered as synonymous with the four mentioned above. This is περιποιέω, found in Acts xx. 28, Eph. i. 14, and 1 Pet.

ii. 9. Now it is undoubtedly true that all these words are sometimes used in the New Testament for simple "purchase," "acquisition," "and "deliverance," without any reference to the peculiar redemption under the Mosaic law. But this does not prevent us from referring its use in other cases to this well-understood Hebrew idea. The Greeks had no custom corresponding to the Goelism of the Jews, and their language, therefore, had no word to express the idea. The Jewish Christian writers were therefore obliged to select such terms as most nearly answered to the pregnant meaning of their verb *gaal*. We see they selected five, in which the notion of ransoming was predominant, as it is in *gaal* itself. That this was really the idea of the apostles, may be seen by a few quotations. For example, look at Eph. i. 14, where the gift of the Holy Ghost is said to be "the earnest of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession (*ἀρράβων τῆς κληρονομίας ἡμῶν εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν τῆς περιποιήσεως*). The allusion to the Goel's work lies on the surface, and the passage is closely connected in the apostle's argument with the "redemption" (*ἀπολύτρωσιν*) in verse 7 of the same chapter. The allusion, likewise, in chap. iv. 30 to "the day of redemption" (*ἡμέραν ἀπολυτρώσεως*) is evidently the same. The passage in Col. i. 14, naturally goes with these, the two epistles having the same argument, and often the same words. In Rom. viii. 23, the redemption of the body anticipated, and the Spirit given as the earnest point to a similar interpretation with that in the Epistle to the Ephesians. In Luke ii. 28, Anna, the prophetess, speaks of Christ "to all them that looked for redemption in Jerusalem" (*πᾶσι τοῖς προσδεχομένοις λύτρωσιν ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ*). Now, the redemption thus looked for was the redemption of the great King Messiah, predicted by the prophets, "Jehovah, the Redeemer of Israel" (Isaiah xlix. 7-12), and we have seen that this redemption was a Goelism. We are constrained, then, to believe that the Jewish Christians, in the apostolic day, hearing of Christ as the Redeemer, viewed him as the great spiritual Goel. They would then have before their minds his three-fold office and his two-fold qualification. Let us glance at each of these points.

1. *Jesus, the Messiah, was the restorer of the lost inheritance.* The paradisiacal state of holiness had once been enjoyed by man. The estate had been given to him in fee, with power to sell, but with warning not to sell. Man recognized the power but not the warning, and, selling his birthright, became an exile from truth. Infinite Love stood outside the wall of Eden and gave the wanderer Hope as his guide. From that moment man could discern the outlines of a restoration, faint at first, but becoming more distinct as he proceeded down the ages. Sacrifice and promise, priest and prophet, were scattered lights along the exile's road, until they were concentrated and intensified in the Sinaitic organization, forming the avenue to the Cross. Here was the central sun whose rays had touched the gates of the forsaken Paradise. Here was the Redeemer, the Goel. Here man received not full possession of the lost inheritance, but was presented with its earnest (*ἀρραβὼν*)—the gift of the Spirit. "The day of redemption" (*ἡμέρα ἀπολυτρώσεως*) was still in the future, but man's right and title to his lost estate was now sealed by the great Goel, who had purchased it for him.

2. *Jesus, the Messiah, was the avenger of blood—the Goel Haddam.* Sin had slain the race. It lay weltering in its blood. Immediately an avenger arose and began his pursuit of the murderer. He followed him over mountain and valley, by land and sea. He struck him in his haunts of nature and sensuality. He smote him again in his caverns of philosophy. Blow followed blow as the assassin pursued his tortuous course. The monster, still strong, evaded the full grasp of his persistent foe. And so the wonderful pursuit continues yet. Christ, the Goel, is hard upon the heels of sin. He has dealt him a mortal blow. "Vengeance is mine," he cries. And saints on earth and saints in heaven join in the shout of victory, whose pledge is written in their own deliverance.

3. *Jesus, the Messiah, has married the widowed race.* God had abandoned the sinful creature, but in Christ he has united himself again to the forsaken one. Christ raises up children to God, who receive the adoption, even the redemption of the body (*νιοθεσίαν, τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν τοῦ σώματος*). "God sent forth

his Son to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons" (*ἵνα τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον ἐξαγοράσῃ, ἵνα τὴν υἰοθεσίαν ἀπολάβωμεν*).

Now let us note the two qualifications necessary for our spiritual Goel.

1. He must be rich enough to purchase back the inheritance, strong enough to destroy the murderer, and high enough in rank to take the place of the former husband. *Christ then must be God*. Man is bankrupt and cannot buy the lost estate. Man is murdered, and cannot, therefore, be his own avenger. And God was the first husband—who but God can take God's place?

2. He must be a kinsman, full of sympathy for the impoverished, the smitten, the lost, for the Goel was no stranger. Indeed the word, originally signifying "a redeemer," became synonymous with kinsman. (See Ruth iv. 1, 3, etc.) *Christ, then, must be man*. He "was made flesh and dwelt among us," and is "touched with the feeling of our infirmities."

Such must have been the Jewish Christian's view of Jesus as the Redeemer, combining in himself the Divine and the human. The very name, seen through the glass of Jewish law and Jewish usage, showed the Son of God to be the Son of man. And may we not suppose that some such view of the God-man opened before the eyes of ancient Job when he exclaimed: "I know that my redeemer (Goel) liveth and at last shall stand upon the earth. After they shall have destroyed my body this shall be, yet in my flesh I shall see God, whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and he no stranger (but a KINSMAN). My heart pines within me with desire for this!" (Job. xix. 25-27).

ART. V.—THE ALLEGED PROGRESS IN THEOLOGY.

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It has come to be a matter of frequent remark, that we live in an age of great progress in theology, and that similar progress is hereafter to be expected. It is time to examine this impression, that we may ascertain what elements in it are true, and what are false, so that we may know whether we are tending towards views of Scriptural truth which are really more intelligent and sound, or abandoning those which are correct for those which are doubtful and erroneous. If we mistake not, this opinion is held by many of the younger clergy of the present day, but is not concurred in, to much extent, by the middle-aged and older members of the clerical profession, or by the churches. Quite recently we propounded the question to a young pastor of more than average intelligence, and his prompt reply was, that he believed that "great progress has been made in theology *even within the last ten years.*" We deem it safe then to assume, that this impression is quite current among us; and as Bacon long ago remarked, that the principles of the young men of a nation decide its destiny, so this opinion of our young theologians may lead to results which will seriously affect the best interests of the churches. While we heartily abjure that spirit of heresy-hunting which seeks to promote groundless divisions, or which would subserve mere partisan interests, we hold it to be the duty of every friend of Zion to "contend earnestly," and yet in the spirit of the Gospel, "for the faith once delivered to the saints,"—a "faith" which was as perfect when it was "delivered" as it is now, or ever will be, under the highest culture which humanity will attain. Alexander Hamilton profoundly said, that "jealousy is often the surest proof of strong attachment."

There are at least four distinct grounds on which the opinion now under consideration is based, and to which it may be well briefly to advert, before we enter upon the examination of the subject itself.

1. The great frequency with which the remark of John Robinson is quoted from his valedictory address to the Pilgrims at Delft Haven, that he was confident "God had more light in his Word which he would cause to break forth," indicates that this has had no little influence in diffusing, if not creating, the impression to which we refer. This remark of Robinson, it should be remembered, however, had, probably, exclusive reference to points of church order and liberty of conscience—questions which at that time were warmly discussed, and not to the central truths of dogmatic theology. It was not difference of opinion upon those truths, which separated the Puritans from the Established Church of England, or sent them to Leyden, or brought them to Plymouth. Robinson, Goodwin, Owen, and their compeers among the Independents, heartily held the doctrines of the Westminster Confession, and even those of the Thirty-Nine Articles. Robinson's celebrated remark has, therefore, no relevancy to the subject before us.

2. The progress which has been made, in past ages, in the construction of creeds, has also had its influence. Though Augustine held many of the doctrines which we hold, they have, since his day, been digested into more systematic and scientific forms. The Nicene Creed, as compared with the Apostles' Creed, shows great advance in a formal statement of Christian doctrine. The Augsburg Confession, drawn up by Luther and Melancthon, in 1530, was another step of progress particularly in relation to the real substitution, and vicarious sacrifice of Christ, and the necessity, freeness, and efficacy of divine grace. The Synod of Dort, in 1619, defined, with still greater accuracy, the important difference between the doctrines of Calvinism and Arminianism; and, finally, the Westminster Assembly, in 1643, formed a Confession of Faith, which, for comprehensiveness, symmetry and soundness, had never been equalled, and which has scarcely been improved,

in the slightest particular, to the present time. The Cambridge Platform in 1648, the Savoy Confession, in 1658, the Boston Confession in 1680, and the Saybrook Platform in 1708, are, with but a few quite unimportant exceptions, mere reaffirmations, and in almost *ipsissimis verbis*, of the doctrines of the Westminster Confession. Edwards and Bellamy, Hopkins and Dwight, Neander and Olshausen, have made scarcely any perceptible progress beyond the wonderful general accuracy of the Westminster Confession; and to-day, there is no creed in Old or New England, which is so well known, or regarded as of so high authority, or is so generally appealed to as the standard of orthodoxy, as this Confession, framed 217 years ago. Even on those points, with which divines of the "progressive" school have found the most fault, such as the divine predestination of "whatsoever comes to pass," the moral connection of the human race with our first parents, and the imputation of Christ's righteousness to believers, after all their most elaborate efforts to substitute phraseology more in harmony, as they conceived, with the teachings of the Bible, they have produced nothing which has met with any permanent public favor. Learning, wit, ridicule, acumen, have expended their united powers upon the averments of the Assembly on those points, and have in vain attempted to frame others, to be accepted by the churches. Probably no statement in the Assembly's Confession or Catechism has encountered such fierce opposition from the modern school, as that relating to the connection between Adam and his posterity. But notwithstanding that opposition, including the sneer, so often repeated, that "the covenants were all made in Holland," God *did* enter into some sort of covenant, plan, or arrangement with Adam, call it by what term you please, by which he became the head or representative of his posterity; a covenant, plan, or arrangement, to which he was a party, and by which the moral character and destiny of his descendants were wrapped up, so to say, in his own conduct; and it was only in this corporate and representative sense, that the Assembly affirmed that we "sinned in him, and fell with him, in his first transgression." Their affirmation was, not that we were personally present, but cor-

porately, or seminally, and representatively present in "his first transgression." And was not this true? And what improvement upon this very phraseology, taken in the sense in which the Assembly used it, have its opponents, with all the subtlety and skill of the acutest dialectics, been able to construct?

We do not mean by these statements, that the Westminster Confession ought to be accepted as a finality in such a sense, as to exclude attempts to set its great truths in new lights and relations, always, of course, retaining and presenting those truths themselves in their integrity and power. The soundest religious philosophy of the present day has not been able to make any perceptible progress even in that direction. Though such progress is theoretically possible, and perhaps probable, no practical results of it have yet appeared, either in the construction of symbols of faith, or in oral proclamations of the truth.

Never was a synod of divines in a better position for forming a sound Confession of Faith than that of Westminster. It was composed of men of the most unquestionable talents and the most profound erudition. They were preëminently skilled in the original languages of the Bible. They enjoyed, besides, the assistance of the most eminent scholars in the kingdom, both lay and clerical, who were not of their own body. They were not themselves divided into "schools," each having its separate party interests to serve. And more than all, they were men of prayer—eminent for "walking with God," even in a generation which, perhaps, has had no equal for consecration to Christ. Their Confession of Faith and their Catechism were therefore formed under a conjuncture of conditions far more favorable than any which had preceded it or may come after it; and have commanded to this day a wider measure of approbation from the friends of Christianity than any others ever framed.

Since the promulgation of the Saybrook Platform in 1708, propositions have at various times been made for conventions to be called to form a better confession than the Westminster or its reäffirmations; but they have met with no encourage-

ment from the churches. The providence of God has always interposed against such attempts, and we see no indications that they are likely to be more successful in the future. He has also frustrated every attempt to produce a better English version of the Bible than the one now generally in use. So far as we can divine his will from his providences, it would seem that King James's translation is to be the Bible for the countless millions which will speak the English language in future ages, and that the Westminster Confession of Faith will continue in the hands of those millions as the best epitome of the doctrinal contents of that Holy Book. We see, therefore, from that quarter, no evidence that the present generation are making any essential advances in theological accuracy.

3. The astonishing progress which has been made, within the last fifty years, in many of the natural sciences and the arts, has doubtless led some to believe that a corresponding progress must have been made in theology. The brilliant discoveries in geology, astronomy, chemistry, etc., which throw such a halo of glory over the present age; the application of steam to the purpose of locomotion, so that we can now travel by sea at the rate of twenty miles, and by land at the rate of sixty miles per hour; and the transmission of intelligence, by an electrical battery, from England to America, and back again to England, and all in less time than it requires to state the fact, have apparently convinced the "Young America" of our clergy, that a parallel "progress" has been made and will yet be made in theological science and doctrinal correctness. But considering the wide difference there is in the nature of the two subjects which are thus brought into comparison, and of our means of information upon them, there is an unfortunate chasm between the premises and the conclusion.

4. Another cause of our supposed advance in theology may, perhaps, be found in a secret disrelish of the doctrines of the Bible themselves, and a desire to get rid of them altogether. "Lo, this only have I found," said the Preacher, "that God hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions." We love and revere the Christian ministry, and would religiously shield it from all undeserved reproach. But "faith-

ful are the wounds of a friend," and that faithfulness requires us to admit, under the instructions which history forces upon our remembrance, that some of the subtlest developments of dissatisfaction with the truth have been found under the robes of the sacerdotal office, and that that incipient hesitation to "declare all the counsel of God," which next precedes the avowal of positive error, is the fault of consecrated lips. We would by no possibility be uncharitable, on the one hand, nor, on the other, ought we to ignore those monitory lessons of the past in New England, which teach us that there may be among us theologians, claiming to be evangelical, who are busy with their "inventions" to make the doctrines of grace more palatable to themselves and to others. And what watchword is more flattering to the pride of the heart, or less likely to awaken the suspicions of good men, than the cry of "progress in theology," and especially so in a day when "progress" is confessedly made in almost every other important interest of society? When we consider the hostility of the natural heart to the humbling doctrines of Christianity—a hostility which can never be made placable by any scholastic attainment or refinement of manners—is it at all surprising that some men, of whom we ought to expect better things, may be unwittingly attempting to conceal or remove that hostility by the vain imagination that they are wiser on some theological points than Calvin, or Edwards, or Howe. If the edge of those doctrines can be turned, or their sharpness blunted, by some novel, philosophical statement of them, will not much be gained both to their peace of conscience and their dialectic skill? That such motives as these may unconsciously convince some persons that they are far in advance of men superior to them in theological attainments, it is only accepting the instructions of history to conjecture.

Having indicated some of the probable causes of the opinion we are considering, let us inquire,

First, in what respects it is true, that we are making real progress in theological science. It is true of the science of exegesis. It was a sound maxim of Melancthon, "*Scriptura non potest intelligi theologice, nisi antea sit intellecta gram-*

matice"—the Scripture cannot be understood theologically until it has been understood grammatically. In this department, the German scholars have gone far in advance of the English, and even of the American, and for their profound and exhaustive researches we owe them a debt of gratitude which it will be difficult to pay. The lexical and grammatical peculiarities of the Bible—the one relating to the origin, form, and usage of words, and the other to their flexion and government—have been mastered; the true canons of interpretation have been settled, and a determined adherence to them, let them conduct us to whatsoever results they may, is now conceded to be the religious duty of every expounder of the Scriptures. The nice shades of difference in the meaning of biblical synonyms, and the true interpretation of difficult texts and of Hebrew and Greek idioms, were never so thoroughly understood. The science of hermeneutics may be said to have arrived very nearly to a state of perfectness, and the consequence is, that honest and intelligent interpreters are daily approximating towards unity of faith.

The unsound principles of interpretation which for many centuries prevailed, and which substituted sound for sense, appearance for argument, fanciful meanings for etymological, led to results the most deplorable; and we regret to say, that that style of interpretation has not yet entirely disappeared from the more illiterate class of the evangelical ministry. Grave divines practically adopted the absurdity of Horne Tooke, in his *Diversions of Purley*, when he says: "Truth is nothing but what every man troweth; and two persons may contradict each other, and yet both speak truth, for the truth of one person may be opposite to the truth of another." This solemn trifling, which would make the Bible favor any views however contradictory, is severely and justly rebuked by Luther. "We must not make God's word mean what we wish; we must not bend *it*, but allow it to bend *us*." This mode of interpreting the Scriptures, which so seriously marred the investigations of the patristic and mediæval scholars, is now all but universally discarded, and little remains to be accomplished in that direction, except to make all interpreters faithfully em-

brace and advocate that system of truth, to which we are inevitably conducted by a rigid adherence to the well-settled principles of philology.

It is a fact of the deepest interest to the cause of truth, that all this increase of light, within the last half century, upon the science of biblical interpretation, has not unfavorably affected a single doctrine of the orthodox faith, but, on the contrary, it has contributed to establish that system on a basis which will forever remain impregnable. Fairbairn, in his *Hermeneutical Manual*, says: "By the establishment of a more accurate criticism, by sounder principles of interpretation, and by an intimate acquaintance with the original languages, it has been found that Scripture will not surrender up any of its peculiar doctrines."* Winer affirms the same truth: "The controversies among interpreters have usually led back to the admission, that the old Protestant views of the meaning of the sacred texts, are the correct ones."† Progress, then, in hermeneutical science, has only confirmed the theological system of the great divines of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Very decided advance has also been made in the history of religious opinions. This branch of theological science has of late been prosecuted in the most thorough manner, and its true place and real value in the interpretation of the Scriptures, are now very generally appreciated. In the Romish church, it has for ages been abused by making tradition of superior authority to the Bible. The famous maxim of Vincentius Lirinensis, *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est*, was a preposterous engine of oppression, employed to compel conformity to the doctrines and usages of that church. That celebrated adage of Roman Catholic theologians, which once spread alarm among the nations, is, even now, feebly but impotently echoed by their High Church followers; but another generation will scarcely pass away, before its dying tones will be lost upon the ear of man. Discrimination is now familiarly made between that ecclesiastical authority which steps in between God and the conscience, and claims

* P. 88. † *Literatur-Zeitung*. No. 44.

to determine the faith of men by the decrees of councils and the edicts of popes, under the pains and penalties of perdition ; and that enlightened and sober regard to the belief of good men in all the ages, which uses it to accredit and confirm our own.

“Analogy of Faith,” or the “Regula Fidei” of the Latin doctors, as defined by Ernesti and others, leads to the inquiry, What has been the creed of the most serious and intelligent men since Christ ascended to heaven ? If the church of Rome has fallen into the one extreme of regarding the faith of that church as the only and infallible test of truth, the Puritans, in their hatred of prelatic authority, fell into the other, by throwing the argument away altogether. A very important advance has therefore been made in theological science, by acquiring a more thorough knowledge of the history of religious opinions, and by a juster application of that knowledge in determining our own faith. The wise theologian, while he will never surrender the right of private judgment, will listen reverently to the voices of all time, to the accordant faith of the great and the good of all the ages ; and when he sees the Church passing through her cycles of controversy, and persecution, and progressive enlightenment, with a gradual and steady approach towards unity of faith, and her doctrinal views coalescing and culminating in the Reformed Confessions, and best set forth in the Westminster Confession of Faith—he feels that there is but little risk in adopting a system, which has been eliminated from the Scriptures by such a process, by sixteen centuries of laborious study, unsparing self-correction and earnest prayer. A system, so educed from the Bible, and so enucleated of error, must be the true one, or all human methods of arriving at Scriptural doctrine are at fault. The clenching of this argument is the fact, that the present profound knowledge of the history of religious opinions—a department of study comparatively unknown to the Westminster divines, does not impair the conclusions to which they arrived on exegetical grounds, but strongly corroborates them. If there is, then, any system of religious faith, which is certified to be the true one by the general current of opinion for eighteen centuries, that system

is the Evangelical, in the Westminster sense. In this matter, "the voice of the people is the voice of God." The true history of Christianity, is the history of true Christianity.

Great progress has also been made in exploring the localities mentioned in the Bible, and in the knowledge of Oriental manners and customs. The labors of Niebuhr, Jahn, Robinson, Smith, Barclay, Thompson and others, in this department, leave little to be desired; and the results of their very accurate researches have added "confirmation strong" to the current belief, that the Biblical record is worthy of entire credence.

Theological philosophy, too, has been improved. The influence which philosophy exerts upon theological speculation is proverbial. The dogmatic views of the early fathers were essentially affected by the philosophy of Plato; those of the mediæval schoolmen, by the dialectics of Aristotle; and those of our own times, by the systems of Des Cartes, Bacon, Locke, Leibnitz, Berkeley, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Sir William Hamilton. It is hardly possible for the scientific theologian wholly to emancipate himself from the philosophy and public opinion of the age in which he lives; and if he can, he must necessarily have some philosophy of his own, which is always less valuable, as it is more subjective, more partial, more out of the line of history, and less adapted to the wants of the age. "The history of philosophy and of Christian doctrine," says Dr. Schaff, "move forward side by side, alternately repelling and attracting each other, till at last the natural reason of man will come into perfect harmony with divine revelation, and the wisdom of the world become identical with the wisdom of God."

The progress which has of late been made in the philosophy of theology has, we think, demonstrated the shallowness of all those theories of sin which make it consist wholly in exercises, to the rejection of a sinful nature; and which hold that, under a government of law, it can be pardoned and disposed of without a real atonement. Superficial views of the more than Miltonic depth of sin in the human heart logically lead to superficial views of regeneration, and resolve it into culture, or

into the self-determination of the will, or into a mere change of the purpose, which the sinner can at any moment enact, as easily as he can turn over his hand, or walk into another room. The philosophy which underlies the theory of Dr. Emmons on the nature of sin, though not so intended by him, is really the *fons et origo* of those so-called "improvements in theology," which for the last thirty years have divided the churches and the ministry, and which are still a "lamentation" among us. That great and good man repudiated the "New Haven theology," though, in so doing, he repudiated what was the natural and logical result of his own theories when separated from his view of the divine efficiency. He seems almost to have regarded it as the great mission of his life to establish the thesis, that we did *not* "sin in" or "fall with" Adam, and that all sin consists in *exercises*. But

"What a pity, in rearing so beauteous a system,
One trifling particular, truth, should have missed him."

His theory, however, as advocated by Dr. Taylor and others, took sin out of those abysmal depths of the heart where it ever lives and rages, made it phenomenal, and taught us that it lies scarcely beneath the very epidermis of the character. To construct a regeneration which would match such superficial views of sin, was then an easy task.

It may not be irrelevant to the present discussion to remark, in passing, that other theories of Dr. Emmons, as, that infants dying, are annihilated,* that we must be willing to be damned in order to be saved,† and that the first emotions of young converts invariably rise in the order of love, repentance, faith‡—are simply the speculations of his philosophy. According to his own showing, these dogmas are not the direct teachings of the Bible, but only, as he calls them, his "inferences." Twenty years have not elapsed since he went to the rewards of his laborious life, but, in the interim, such has been the progress in philosophical speculation, that probably ten divines cannot now be found among us who believe either of these theories.

* See Works, vol. iv. p. 510. † Memoir, vol. i. p. 83. ‡ Works, vol. v. p. 162.

Happily for the cause of truth, such absurd speculations are passing away, and sounder views of the nature of sin, of the atonement, and of regeneration, under the influence of a sounder philosophy, have already begun to obtain among divines, who thought differently thirty years ago. A theology which is sufficient to save an apostate world must rest on the truest philosophical basis; and the late discussions of these subjects have, we think, pretty thoroughly convinced the most candid men among us, that we must go back for the most correct views of theology to the fundamental truths of that system which culminated in the rise of Puritanism, the settlement of this country, modern revivals of religion, and missionary operations in pagan lands.

Having glanced at the points in which real progress has of late been made in theological science, let us now look at that in which no advance has been or can be made, and which is, indeed, the vital point in the subject before us. We refer to *the great doctrines of Christianity themselves.*

In the nature of the case, the substantive and central truths of the Bible must always remain the same. They can no more change, or be improved, than their Author and Revealer.

Doctrinal truth, as it came from the mind of the Holy Ghost, is a fixed quantity. Its integrity is impaired, either by addition or subtraction. The doctrines of the Bible are therefore, in themselves, complete, finished, perfect. But while this is perhaps generally admitted, it is said, that our apprehension and statement of them may be indefinitely improved. Here, then, lies the gist of our inquiry, and here is the point where the most important "progress" is claimed to be made. It has recently been declared, that "in our apprehension of divine truth, great progress may be made, and is to be devoutly hoped for. If progress has been made in centuries past, why may it not be so in the centuries yet future? Who will say where this progress is to cease?"

Now, it might be a sufficient reply to say, that any statement of theological doctrines which abandons or modifies the usual orthodox nomenclature, would be a virtual abandonment or modification of the doctrines themselves. Probably in no

science, excepting mathematics, is it as true that "words are things," as in that of theology. The current terms which set forth the dogmatic truths of revelation, have been used for ages. Their etymological and historical sense is so true to the thoughts to be expressed, they have so long been employed by the most acute and comprehensive minds to mean precisely what they now do in common discourse, and they are so clearly and firmly fixed in the public thought, that an attempt to substitute others in their room, would at once, and justly, excite the suspicion of unsoundness in the faith. Hence it is, that some popular preachers of the "progressive" school, who are now experimenting in this direction, have already lost much of the confidence of the Christian public. Indeed, it is hardly conceivable, that society can ever reach such a height of refinement, or the ministry become so learned and astute, that those terms can ever be safely dispensed with, or even essentially modified.

But the opinion we are considering can be successfully met from another point of departure. It may, indeed, be presumptuous to affirm, that it is within the competence of uninspired men to construct a creed which shall be absolutely perfect, nor is such an affirmation necessary to the validity of our argument. *Absolute* perfectness is not to be expected. It is only an approach to it, which is possible to the most enlightened and sanctified humanity. The assertion then, that in the present highly advanced state of biblical science, and with our present most complete apparatus for biblical criticism, and in the possession of a formulary of faith which has stood the test of two hundred years, "*great progress* in theology may yet be made, and continue to be made in the centuries yet future," would seem to be against all probability, as well as at war with the position, that theological truth is an invariable quantity. It proceeds, too, on the assumption, that our attainments in theology are as tentative and experimental as in chemistry or astronomy; that God has not revealed to us his will in his word more clearly than he has the number of the stars in the heavens to the unassisted eye of man, or a knowledge of the properties of elementary substances and their

mutual combinations to him who has never stepped into the laboratory of a chemist. The assumption is preposterous.

But it would not be preposterous, if God had given us written revelations upon the sciences of chemistry and astronomy. If he had so done, then our means of information upon those sciences would be of the same character, as are our present means of information upon the science of theology. In that event, our knowledge of those sciences would be no more experimental and "progressive," than our knowledge of theology now is. In our present relations to these two subjects, we cannot therefore reason from the one to the other, either with logic or with safety.

The Bible is a special revelation to us upon the subject of theology. It was given to be understood, and it can be understood by a proper application to it of the usual canons for interpreting language. Those canons can be applied to it now, as properly and as successfully as they can be a thousand years hence. The truths and facts of the Bible lie now, as much as they will then, within the range of the human understanding, enlightened by education and grace; whereas countless orbs, unannounced by special apocalypse, roll in the heavens and will always give employment to the telescope; and numberless laws in the natural world, unexplained from above, will forever reward the investigations of the philosopher. The very *revelation* we have upon the high themes of theology necessarily sets metes and bounds to human inquiry, and prescribes "limits to religious thought," a *status* which widely differs from that of any of the natural sciences.

This theory of indefinite progression in theology is not unlike that of the author of the *Vestiges of Creation*, as to natural history; which is, that the first organized being was an animated animalcule, which gradually became an animal of the lowest form, and then slowly expanded into a mollusc, which, afterwards, in the lapse of ages, grew into a fish, and this, after many attempts, got on to dry land, converted its fins into legs and became a reptile, and the reptile shot out wings and became a bird, and the bird dropped its wings downward, made legs of them and became a beast, and the beast at length

rose up erect and became a man. If this theory be correct, alas! for the past generations of men, and alas! perhaps, for us, for even we, for aught we can tell, may yet be in the palæozoic stage of theological development, and may have too little knowledge of the Bible to save us!

But, all badinage apart, we ask, then, if, with all the light which has been thrown upon the science of biblical interpretation for the last fifty years, theologians have not advanced at all in creed-making, and are now obliged to go back more than two centuries for the soundest symbol of the Christian faith which has yet been framed, what becomes of these boastful professions of "great progress in theology"? Who has made such "progress," and where are the symbols of their faith? On a subject so grave as this, they ought, certainly, to have something to show in proof of such pretensions. What creed have they formed which is more in harmony with "the analogy of faith," and which is so generally accepted by the churches as to command a greater measure of respect, than that which, for two hundred years has been appealed to as the standard of orthodoxy? In the absence of any such proof, we must be permitted to regard such pretensions as utterly groundless, and to inquire whether they are not indications of an intended departure, and, perhaps, of a slight actual departure from the generally accepted faith of the churches. Error has always entered the church with honied phrase and velvet step, but has been intolerant of every attempt to expose her approaches.

But it is alleged, that if no advance has been made for a long period in the construction of creeds, decided progress is visible in the preaching of the truth in the pulpit. It is held that the clergy of the present day have a more correct apprehension of the great doctrines of the Bible, and preach them with greater effect than their predecessors. But what are the facts in the case? That the literary and æsthetic qualities of the pulpit are superior to those of some former period, is admitted; but is it not the public conviction, that what has been gained on the score of elegance and taste, is more than balanced by the loss of depth and of truth? Is it not the general

belief, that the distinctive doctrines of Christianity do not lie in the minds of the clergy so clearly and sharply defined, and that their discussion of them in the pulpit is by no means so frequent, clear, and uncompromising as in past times? Is it not a matter of remark and solicitude in the churches, that the ministry of the present day do not preach so doctrinally, or so closely, as did the fathers? Is it not true, that the great doctrines of the sovereignty of God, of the native depravity of man, of atonement for sin by the sacrifice of Christ, of personal election, of unconditional submission, of regeneration by the special influences of the Holy Spirit, of justification by faith alone, and of the literal eternity of future punishments, are not formally discussed in many of our pulpits once in a year, or even once in a lifetime? Is it not the fact, that revivals of religion are less pure, that conviction of sin is less profound, and the exercises of professed converts are less satisfactory? And is it not true to a considerable extent, that in the great Revival two years since the ministry was less honored as the instrumental power, and lay agency used as never before in the work of converting men?

In the light of facts such as these, so unusual, so significant, and so lamentable, what are we to think of the claim, that the utterances of the pulpit are sounder, more searching and effective, than in the days of the fathers? The fault of that part of the evangelical pulpit to which we refer is not that it rejects the cardinal doctrines of the Bible, but that it does not present them in that formal, frequent, and earnest manner, which the exigencies of Zion demand. Their uncomfortable angularities are practically rounded off, and their penetrating edge is practically blunted. Their moral force is evaporated by the very learned, and philosophical, and tasteful style in which they are discussed. They are not wholly ignored, neither are they thoroughly preached. So far as they are presented at all, it is rather by implication than by open confession, by an assumption of their truth, than by a direct demonstration of it. The churches vitally need more of that unpretending but alarming exhibition of the fearful truths of the Bible, which, under the preaching of Edwards, started the congregation at Enfield to their feet, and made them cling to the banisters of

the pews to save them from sinking into hell: more of that preaching of "Christ and his Cross," which rendered the ministry of the eloquent Griffin "one scene of divine wonders": more of that ardent zeal for the immediate conversion of sinners which glowed in the heart of Payson, and which daily said, "Give me Portland, or I die": more of the apostolic gravity and pastoral fidelity of Hyde, who was "a good minister of Jesus Christ" every where, in his family, in the street, in his journeys, as well as in the pulpit: and more of the dichotomizing ability of Nettleton, to lay open the sinner's heart to his own astonished view, and pursue him with persistent earnestness through all his windings and excuses, till he surrenders at the feet of Jesus.

But while a part of the pulpit of our country, and especially of New England, gives evidence that it has made no "progress in theology" in the right direction, there is another part by whom the doctrines of grace are enforced with all fidelity. Indications, too, are not wanting of return to sounder views, on the part of some divines, who, thirty years ago, were nearly "lost" in the "wandering mazes" of a false philosophy and a speculating theology. The New Haven divines of 1860, with two or three exceptions, are not the New Haven divines of 1830. The leaven of those speculations is yet indeed widely spread in the ministry and the churches, and, in modified forms, it pervades some of the chairs of theological institutions; but the sound conservatism of the New England heart, and the New England head, and the old New England piety, will, we trust, ere long, by the grace of God, bring back the theology of New England to the platform of Edwards and the Catechism. Jehovah reigns. The true faith will yet triumph. "The good time coming" will certainly arrive.

"The groans of nature in this nether world,
Which Heaven has heard for ages, have an end,
Foretold by prophets and by poets sung.
The time of rest, the promised Sabbath comes,
Six thousand years of 'error' have well nigh
Fulfilled their tardy and disastrous course
Over this sinful world; and what remains
Of this tempestuous state of human things
Is merely as the working of a sea,
Before a calm, that rocks itself to rest."

ART. VI. — DENOMINATIONALISM, NOT SECTARIANISM.

By Rev. J. FEW SMITH, D.D., Newark, N. J.

THE existence of numerous sects in the Christian Church, is a standing reproach in the mouth of the scorner and the infidel. And yet it is a reproach, which, fairly considered, is unworthy of an intelligent and candid mind. No man capable of making a just discrimination will honestly regard it as a valid objection against the truthfulness of the Christian religion, or at variance with the essential unity of the Church. At first an honest inquirer may be perplexed by it; and seeking for the church of Christ, may anxiously inquire in which of the numerous "denominations" he shall find it. And any lover of what is good and pure and true, may find occasion for chagrin and grief in a spirit not unfrequently exhibited by these denominations, far different from that which his heart approves, and the book of God enjoins. But a little reflection will remove the perplexity, and show that the spirit thus lamented is an unhealthy excrescence, and not the natural and sound outgrowth of the denominational existence. On the same rock, spreading wide its firmly supported surface, may be built a variety of superstructures, all having a common foundation. And all denominations resting solely on the Rock Christ Jesus, are really the building of God, a house of many apartments, where the various parties of the family of God may find suitable abiding places. A vital principle may be one and unchangeable throughout, and yet there may be an almost endless variety in the circumstances of its development. There is a common principle of natural and of moral life, pervading our whole race, and constituting us, as one body in the creation of God, *mankind*; yet who can enumerate the varieties in which human life is seen?—varieties attaching

to the broadest generalization of classes, and to the last distinction of individuals. So a common life principle animates the various denominations of Evangelical Christians, and finds its development, more or less perfect, in their various modifications. The life of Christ in man which is the essence of Christianity, we must remember, is yet struggling against the corruptions of sin in the soul, and the deadly antagonisms of worldliness. It is working with such instrumentalities as fallen human nature in a world of sin furnishes. It comes to man as he is, with his peculiarities of temperament, of mental constitution, and aims to take entire possession of him. It will subject each alike to the authority of God, and pervade each alike with love to God; but it will do this to each individually, as he is, and while giving to each the same life, will yet preserve to him his distinct personality. Paul and John and Peter, are alike filled with the life of their Lord: who shall say that one more than another of them wears his image? And yet how distinct their manifestation of that life! Uniformity in matters of intellect and feeling is incompatible with the variety that exists in mental constitution and character. Minute agreement in these departments ought no more to be expected, than we should expect to see all men, because made in the image of Adam, precisely alike in form and feature. Heaven will doubtless be a place of harmony. Love to God will be the animating principle of all its holy inhabitants. Yet we cannot imagine a dull uniformity prevailing there. And we can imagine Gabriel and Michael, Peter and Paul, serving God all the better, and making his praise all the sweeter, because while living with one life and for one end, each will be *himself*, with all his personal characteristics; just as it is the blending of many voices and various parts that gives beauty and richness and power to stir the soul to our songs of praise and "hymns of lofty cheer."

The existence of different denominations of Christians in its legitimate tendencies bears some analogy to this. There is a beauty in such a variety pervaded by a common life; and there is an energy in it, and a spirit of enterprise, that counterbalance any evil tendencies to which its working is

exposed. We may grant that the division of the church into sects has its evils, and is a characteristic of an imperfect state, which in its prominent features is to pass away, as the church progresses towards the period when it shall stand forth purified, without spot or wrinkle or any such thing, a Bride adorned for her glorious Spouse. Still these sects may be just one of the very instrumentalities which Jesus will use in spreading his gospel, elucidating his truth, gathering and purifying his church. At present no one division of the church dare say that it alone has the truth, or that it possesses all the truth. Each denomination is working out some problem in the Christian life, developing some portion of truth. Each has its part to perform, its peculiar work to do for the kingdom of Christ, which it, in the present condition of things, is better fitted to do than another.

Fairly considered, the existence of denominations in the church is just what might reasonably be expected from such a religion as that in which we rejoice; and rightly used it may turn to good account. Already is there an accumulation of facts, to testify of great things in the church's progress achieved by its instrumentality. We know not the force which rent asunder the several asteroids and gave them their distinct orbits, nor the specific object which God had in view in their disruption and starting forth on their separate circuits. Yet we may readily believe that an emergency had arisen which was to be met by that disruption, and that the balance of our system was thereby to be adjusted, and to be preserved by their separate motion. So we believe denominations accomplish important ends in the economy of grace. But the evil is, that poor human nature mingles so much of its impurity with the good works of God. The denominational spirit, proper and useful within its natural limits, is perverted into a wicked sectarian spirit. The church is forgotten in the denomination; Christ is hidden from view by the rivalry of party; faction takes the place of family; and then there is cause of reproach. Men cannot say "See how these Christians love one another;" but they look on sadly or sneeringly and

say: "Are these brethren of one family! all members of Christ?"

This ought not to be, need not be: *a DENOMINATIONAL spirit is not necessarily a SECTARIAN spirit.* This we will endeavor to show, at the same time setting forth what we believe to be a proper culture of the denominational spirit.

But first let us observe, that an ardent devotion to the Church of Christ ought to characterize every one who professes to be a disciple of Christ. Every Christian ought to be an earnest churchman—not in the restricted sense simply of a member of this or that portion of the visible church—but as believing that Christ has a church on earth, and as devoted to its interests. He ought to feel that the church is the central interest of earth, around which all God's providence revolves—to belong to which is his highest privilege, to advance which his highest duty. Wherever he is, whatever he is called to do, there is his first and supreme allegiance. *Christo et ecclesiae*, is engraved on his heart, and on the palms of his hands. That Christian fails to reach his prerogative, and his force of living, who is too timid to assert for himself this membership in Christ, this distinction from the world, this kingship above men; and to look upon all the world as a vast dominion to be possessed by the church, a great field from which all weeds are to be rooted, in which the seed of the kingdom shall be broadly sown, and which shall be all covered with a luxuriant harvest to the Master's glory. This is the true *church feeling*; born of the Holy Spirit; the very Spirit of Christ, which all his are expected to have. It is a holy feeling, rising infinitely above all narrow selfish considerations, and gloriously governing the soul.

But now when this church feeling would develop itself in outward act, it naturally and necessarily seeks some visible church organization in which to hold communion with others of like mind, and through which to act upon the world. And no matter now by what reasoning, by what influences, the man is determined in his choice of a denomination of Christians with which to be connected, it is evident that among the various denominations existing in the visible church, a choice

must be made ; into that denomination he carries his church feeling, and there, while not losing any of its catholicity, it becomes a denominational feeling. That is, his devotion to the church manifests itself directly in the modes of that denomination, while his heart embraces all who love the Lord Jesus. And this is none the less the case, if, as is true of the vast majority of instances, his being in a particular denomination is the result of his being born, or trained, or converted in it, rather than of any studied and deliberate choosing of it.

And this we hold to be the true spirit which should characterize every member of Christ's Church, and which will secure the harmony and efficiency of the whole body. And very different from it is the sectarian spirit. This is a divisive, jealous, selfish spirit. That is simply denominational, arranging men of like views under a common name, for convenience and co-operation.

But let us see now how these two are to be distinguished each from the other. And we shall find them differing in their nature, and their effects.

First in their nature. A sectarian spirit is essentially selfish. Although it may be found in hearts renewed by the Holy Ghost, it is a portion of the old leaven, not yet thoroughly removed ; nor is it inconsistent with the exercise of kindness. But its root is selfishness. It identifies the individual indeed with his party, and so may be said to demand and produce a sacrifice of self ; but that is after all but a combining of the selfishness of several in one body ; a gratifying of self in the very act of supposed abnegation ; a sort of heroism into which a party spirit often deludes its votaries ; a kind of martyrdom that would demand our admiration, but for the lie that it carries in its hand. Selfishness seeks its own end, its own prosperity, irrespective of the feelings and the prosperity of others. It bounds its sphere of vision by a horizon of its own making. It does not take an expansive view in which all may be regarded, and its own good sought, without interfering with that of others. So sectarianism looks only at its own advancement. *Our sect*, in such a man's view, is the prominent thing. He desires that to prevail, whether others

fall or not. He desires that to triumph even at the expense of others. He works steadily for this, and turns not aside even though he must crush some sensitive emotions, or some delicate sense of right and truth and courtesy and brotherly regard, in his course. Selfishness regards all else as in a certain sense opposed to it; has ever in its bosom an antagonism; is a sort of Ishmael in its feelings. So the sectarian has, he may not be distinctly conscious of it, the feeling that he is to contend against others, as obstacles in his way. Selfishness instinctively asks concerning every thing, how will it be gainful to me? So sectarianism looks at every thing as bearing on the interests of the sect.

The sectarian spirit is a partisan spirit. It professes indeed to be catholic; to have the good of the whole church at heart. It may be vaguely and remotely governed by this as an ultimate rule of Christian effort. But more immediately and practically it aims at advancing its own party in the church. Persuading itself that its prevalence will be best for the cause of religion, it comes at last to lose sight of this, and to labor simply for its prevalence; and to look with a jealous eye, if not with hostility or contempt, on rival parties, or competitors on the broad field of Christian activity: just as in political life, the party spirit often runs away with patriotism, and men labor with all earnestness for the prevalence of their party, without really considering the good of the country; or when considering this, see it only through the medium of party views. So Judah may be more anxious to triumph over Reuben than to promote the honor of Jehovah. So the sectarian Christian may be more earnest to advance his sect, than to win a triumph for the redeeming Saviour.

The sectarian spirit is also a proselyting spirit. It will aim indeed at the conversion of men; but will aim specifically at their conversion within its own fold; and will strive to win others over to its communion, with the object of adding to its numbers. Perhaps not consciously and deliberately, yet through the influence of such a spirit, will the sectarian compass sea and land to make one proselyte, with as much zeal as to bring one soul to salvation. He will not distinguish be-

tween the two perhaps ; yet the desire to add to his sect will but too prominently animate his zeal.

So also is the sectarian spirit bigoted. The thorough-going sectarian will be a thorough bigot. He will hold himself and his party to be right and others wrong. He will not make allowances for differences on minor points ; much less for important differences. He will not see the image of Christ elsewhere than within the bounds of his own fraternity. He will hardly admit that men are truly converted, unless they are converted to his faith, or in his way.

The sectarian spirit is thus an unchristian spirit and most deserving of reprobation. And did Christianity admit of such an excrescence without a severe reproof, we should indeed hardly know how to reply to the taunts and reproaches of its opponents. And did the existence of different denominations of Christians necessarily involve such a spirit, that should be severely reprobated and greatly lamented, and not for a moment justified. But such a spirit is at variance with the religion of the Gospel. The Gospel condemns it.

And a denominational spirit is not necessarily sectarian. A denominational spirit has the same relation to the universal brotherhood of Christians, the church at large, that the family spirit has to the social, or national interests ; that patriotism has to philanthropy. It is not selfish, nor partisan, nor proselyting, nor bigoted. It may be strong in its attachments, earnest in its preferences, clear in its convictions, zealous for the interests of its own branch of the church ; yet it will be generous, and liberal, respectful of the convictions of others, and truly and supremely zealous for the triumph of Christianity ; and ready to sacrifice its own preferences or personal gains whenever the cause of the Redeemer can be effectually advanced by such a sacrifice. Truly, we may love our own family with the warmest affection, and give to them our first regard ; and yet give a heart of brotherly love to our neighbor. And we need love him none the less because he loves his family more than ours. We may love the branch of the church with which we are connected with a peculiarly warm

affection, without an unkind feeling towards another branch, or a want of brotherly regard for him who prefers that to ours. We may be thoroughly convinced that we have the truth with us, and that our organization and our mode of setting forth the truth are best adapted to our habits of thought, and other circumstances pertaining to us; best for us to employ in our efforts to evangelize the world; nay, that they are most nearly conformed to the teaching of the Scriptures; without doubting that our Christian brother of another denomination is equally convinced of the soundness of his positions, and the advantages of his branch, or section, of the church. We may labor earnestly and with a denominational enthusiasm, in the lot in which we stand by the Providence of God, so directing our birth and education, or the events that give us our various positions in life, or the operations of truth on our minds, without one unkind or uncharitable feeling towards a brother who likewise stands in his lot, earnestly cultivating his chosen or appointed field on the broad territory of our common Master. And we may each bid the other "God speed" with an honest and loving heart.

Now such is the denominational spirit. It recognizes local and personal attachments, while yet preserving the Catholic spirit of love to all who love the Lord Jesus. It gives room for the play of personal preferences and peculiarities, while yet preserving unbroken the silken cord of Christian sympathy. With it the denomination is much, but the church is more; and the redemption of souls by means of the church is still more; and most of all is the glory of the Redeemer. Other denominations are not opponents, nor simply rivals. They may be loved and honored competitors. But they are brethren with whom we rejoice to march together under the banner of the cross, under the lead of our great Captain, and, with our only provocation of each other a provoking to good works, to fight side by side the battles of the Lord, each striving for the common victory. The denominational spirit has no shibboleth; no sidelong, jealous glances. There is nothing about it which prevents its joining heartily in the heavenly rejoicing over a

sinner that repents, let that sinner belong to what sect he may.

Look now at the *effects* of these two spirits. The sectarian spirit fosters jealousy. It will hardly be so unchristian as to be sorry that sinners are converted; and yet it will lead even good men sometimes to look with an evil eye on the prosperity of what they consider a rival sect. On the other hand, the denominational spirit may produce a noble rivalry, but will not stifle a rejoicing at the success of the Gospel any where, and with any of Christ's people.

Sectarianism produces narrowness of views and efforts. It is altogether unfavorable to expansion of purpose and feeling. It overlooks the generous spirit and broad reach of Christianity. It leads its followers to look at men rather as units to be added to its numbers, to be accumulated by its processes, than as fellow-sinners to be saved by any means—lost ones, to be persuaded by any whom God will bless to that end, to seek a place within the fold of Christ. It so occupies the mind with its limited partisan views as to make its efforts for a world's conversion to be efforts for self-extension; and thus, to be narrowed and cramped, as all that is of the nature of selfishness must ever be. But the denominational spirit is favorable to energy and enterprise. With an open eye to the common interests of the Church, it sees that it may promote those interests most effectively by working diligently in its own field. There is thus secured concentration of effort, without narrowness of view. It leads men to do their own work most vigorously for the sake of the general good. It makes them use the means with which they are best acquainted, and in which their hearts are most interested. It awakens an enthusiasm which is itself an earnest of success. It calls into action energies that had otherwise been lost, and develops resources that had otherwise lain buried or inoperative.

Sectarianism generally employs much management. It borrows a system of tactics from the world. Its tendency is towards planning and manœuvring. Denominationalism, governed by the Christian spirit, rejects these; and while it re-

fuses not to be wise, acts in an open, manly way, with no dark counsels or stratagem.

Sectarianism, finally, will be found to affect most prejudicially the piety of those in whom it rules. Its tendency is so to occupy their minds with the thought of advancing the interests of their sect as to deaden their piety, to make them worldly, uncharitable and severe. The sectarian looks so much at the external; is so much occupied with churchism, rather than with Christianity itself; so concerned for the glory of his sect, rather than for the glory of Christ; that it is not strange that he loses his spirituality, that his heart becomes the home of many unseemly feelings, rather than the temple of the Holy Ghost; and his piety dwindles into a stern and chilling orthodoxy, or his zeal becomes a fiery ecclesiasticism, making him a hot champion of church peculiarities, of sectarian trifles, and causing him to waste on these energies and affections that ought to be employed for his Master's glory, and for the salvation of multitudes round about who are ready to perish. Or, if the effect be not so bad as this, it will at least make him regard others with a cold Pharisaic superiority or bitter exclusiveness; or, at the very lowest, cause that to be an unpleasantly felt separation, which might be but an acknowledged difference of opinion that should produce no difference of feeling. And then the general effect will be to make the church appear but as a conglomerate of heterogeneous and encumbering particles, instead of a beautiful mosaic in which the individual parts blend with a sweet harmony of effect. No wonder that men of the world, seeing such things, are repulsed by them, and recoil to the illusive charms of their imaginative systems of sentimental piety; a church all blurred with the stains of the world, a church all dusty and soiled with the strife of evil passions, does not attract men who associate with religion the ideas of truth, and purity, and love.

In a word, sectarianism gives prominence to that which Christianity condemns. It invests the imperfections of human nature with glory and authority which it should shame man to acknowledge. It makes matters of minor moment to be essential things. It strains at a gnat and swallows a camel. It

casts down from her throne the sweet sovereign charity, whom Christianity places there, radiant with heavenly beauty, clad in garments of light, and wielding a sceptre beneath whose sway all lovely and excellent things spring up in the pathway of humanity: and enthrones in her stead, a stern-visaged queen, from whose brow the sunlight of love has faded, whose eye is cold while piercing, whose hand dispenses cheerless bounties to her own hard-visaged favorites, and under whose leaden sceptre the sweet flowers of life wither as if trodden down beneath the iron heels of a devastating soldiery. She will, indeed, lead on to action and to conquest; but her conquests will lack the bright jewels that adorn the brow of charity; her songs of victory will fail of the sweetness of a loving heart.

Denominationalism, on the other hand, is but the consecration to the uses of religion of those innate, constitutional, and educational varieties which are found existent in men. Christianity finds men existing with such varieties of ability, of temperament, of circumstances; and converting them to her service, uses these varieties for the promotion of her cause. She would deprive them of all evil, and use them for good. She would seize upon the love of family, of home, and the effects of peculiarities of education, and filling these with her own blessed spirit, would thereby cause the individual to accomplish the greatest amount of good in the service of Christ, most happily for himself.

Animated by such a spirit, the several denominations of Christians form a great brotherhood, governed by one Sovereign, to whom they devote their energies; seeking after truth; cultivating the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace; kindly bearing with each other's imperfections, and looking forward to a time when increasing light and nearer resemblance to Jesus shall diminish their differences; and all together accomplishing most for the evangelization of the world, because each permitted to labor according to its own convictions of right and duty.

Such a denominational spirit we hold to be Scriptural and worthy of cultivation. But when it goes beyond this, and be-

comes exclusive and isolating, refuses to coöperate with other Christians in worship or in works of love, absorbs the feeling of brotherly kindness, makes it a matter of highest moment to extend the denomination, causes the denomination to obscure the glory of the exalted Lamb of God—then it is a bitter evil. It has lost its savor, and is only fit to be cast out and trodden under foot of men.

A sound denominational spirit is not only consistent with Christian unity, but also tends to promote it. We believe most devoutly in the oneness of the church, but not in a compulsory unity of external organization, or a mechanical conjunction of parts. The oneness is in the life, and the visible parts will join most harmoniously when it is understood that each has its own work to do, and its own way of doing it. Coöperation does not require the relinquishing or the concealing of distinctive opinions. Men work together better when they clearly understand each other. There is less danger of unpleasant collision or interference when the lines of distinction are clearly perceived; and when it is fairly understood that in all that may be called domestic matters, all that belongs to each one's own way of working, each will be at perfect liberty to take care of itself. Men respect those who show a consistent devotion to principle, who intelligently identify themselves with the body to which they belong, and seek its prosperity whilst manifesting a generous respect for others. But coöperation does require that points of difference should not be thrust offensively forward; that in the work in which there is coöperation, the points of agreement are to be dwelt upon; and that each should fully respect the rights and regard the feelings of the other. There are some parts of the work of the church which can be best done denominationally. Let every one judge fairly concerning these. Better work apart than work together with constant irritation. Better the kind separation of Abraham and Lot than a constant bickering and jealousy, alike unchristian and unfavorable to progress. True friendship, generous and successful working, will be promoted by such separation. But God forbid that the time should come when there shall be no common ground

on which various denominations may meet together, laying aside their distinctions, and joining hands for a common end. God forbid that a generous denominationalism should ever degenerate into a narrow sectarianism, and tropical lines of distinction should become great gulfs of separation, or "mountains interposed," as barriers to friendship and intercourse between those who "like kindred drops" should mingle in the one work of love.

The application of the views now stated to union societies, to denominational boards, to the principles that should govern the churches in missionary operations, to the questions relating to action by voluntary societies, and action directly by the church through its ecclesiastical organizations, it is not our purpose to pursue. It is enough if we have shown, that it is the right and the duty of every man to work earnestly and with enthusiasm for the cause of Christ in the denomination to which he belongs; that each denomination may seek by all legitimate methods, without invidious rivalry, or narrow sectarianism, to promote its own growth and prosperity; that such action may best secure the development and use of the resources of the denomination, and serve the while the largest amount of good; and that such a denominational spirit and action is not inconsistent with brotherly feeling and cordial coöperation on the broad fields of Christian benevolence.

But on two other points related to this subject, we have a word or two to say. We reprobate that kind of denominationalism which needlessly multiplies feeble churches in small places. We regard it as an evil, that in many of our villages and small towns there exist numerous small church organizations, when there is scarcely strength enough to sustain one vigorously. This surely is not according to the spirit of the Gospel. We are not indifferent to orthodoxy of theological sentiments, or excellence of ecclesiastical organization. We have decidedly our convictions as to doctrines and our preferences as to modes. But we do hold it as a grievous mistake, to set up a puny nursling of a congregation by the side of one already established, itself needing all the help it can get, *merely* for the sake of gratifying the denominational prefer-

ence, when there is evidence that both cannot be strong, both are not needed, and when by concentrating strength on one a vigorous and useful church might be sustained. To say nothing of the offence thus committed against the true Christian spirit, in an *economical* point of view it is a great mistake. Have we any right so to use the Lord's money and the Lord's men? Have we any right so to distract forces which should be combined against a common adversary, and in efforts for conquering in a common cause? Especially when the denominations thus competing with each other hold the same doctrinal views, and differ but little in their modes of worship and of discipline, is this to be regretted. Why not in this exercise a generous self-denial, a generous coöperation, and join heartily to strengthen each other; throwing all into that one which by priority of establishment, or by fair prospect of growth, holds out the clearest prospect of success?

And with our view of the true denominational spirit and of its relation to the Church, we reprobate that feeling which reproaches members, and especially ministers, of one denomination, for passing from it to connect themselves with another. It is always a sign of something wrong in the heart, or in the judgment at least, when one is prompt to impugn the motives of his brother for taking a step which he himself does not approve. If denominationalism is to be carried so far as to break off fellowship with those of another name, let it perish. We greatly regret that in any of the denominations, as for example in the Episcopal and the Baptist, there should be ecclesiastical bars, rendering such a free passing from the ministry of other denominations into them impossible without a sacrifice of principle or radical change of views; perhaps the time may come when these bars will be removed. But where such difficulties do not exist, especially among all the denominations which hold fundamentally the same theological system, we see not why there should not be this interchange; and churches be free to call ministers of other denominations to become their pastors, and ministers be free to accept such invitations, without being charged with a want of fidelity or a want of consistency; without censure from those from whom

they go, or suspicion from those to whom they are newly joined. For our part we regard such transfers as but an exhibition of a true Christian spirit, as showing that the Church is one body, and Christians are brethren having confidence in each other, and willing to work for God, with a cheerful heart in any part of his vineyard that he may point out. And when there is evidently no sacrifice of any Christian principle, instead of using harsh words about them, we honor them. We believe it to be one way to break down sectarianism and to promote Christian unity.

ART. VII.—DARWIN ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

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The Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection; or, the Preservation of the Favored Races in the Struggle for Life.
By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S. London: 1859. 8vo, pp. 502. New-York: Appleton & Co. 1860.

SOME naturalists are so strongly impressed with the fixedness of organic types that they cannot believe even in the genetic unity of the different races of men. Others, again, are so carried away with the constant flux of variations, and the insensible degrees by which type shades off into type, that they are ready to trace all organic beings, whether animal or vegetable, up to one and the same primitive parentage. Mr. Darwin belongs to this latter class. Each of these parties may do some service to the cause of truth by exposing or neutralizing the extravagances of the other.

So far as the question is a purely scientific one, that is, so far as regards the testing, comparing and grouping of the *facts* in the case, we leave it to purely scientific men. But we pro-

pose to show that, admitting Mr. Darwin's facts—even though he should add to them a hundred fold, as he has promised—his conclusions will not follow. The discovery of any new fact, in any department of knowledge, we hail with unmingled satisfaction. But a theory unsupported by facts is quite another thing. And when such a theory is inconsistent with the principles of Christianity or Theism, no matter though it may be disguised in a scientific form, and may bristle all over with scientific terminology, we feel authorized, without any special scientific training, to attempt an exposure of its fallacious and groundless character. Mr. Darwin does not expressly attack Christianity or Theism. He scarcely notices them at all. But a theory of origins or ends that ignores Theism altogether, is as truly its enemy as one which attacks it openly in front, and must be treated by the friends of Theism accordingly.

One of the mottoes prefixed by Mr. Darwin to his work is the saying of Whewell, that “in regard to the material world we can at least go so far as this; we can perceive that events are brought about, not by insulated interpositions of Divine power, exerted in each particular case, but by the establishment of general laws.” This is undoubtedly true as a norma of human *experience*, as a statement of the process of things so far as it falls under our actual observation. But it certainly was not meant by Whewell, nor would it be true if it had been meant, to indicate thus, or to explain, the origin of things or the whole problem of being. Mr. Darwin knows as well as we that Whewell did not intend by this statement of an empirical fact, to dispense with a creative cause; a cause which is not indeed given in experience, but which theistic reason prescribes as a necessary condition to the possibility of experience; and that he would, in perfect consistency with that statement, have unhesitatingly referred the origin of species, as of all the varied arrangements of the Kosmos, to the creative hand. To deny the act of creation because we cannot reach it empirically by the induction of phenomena, is not a whit more reasonable than to deny the existence of phenomena, because we cannot deduce them *à priori*, in definite time and place, from the rational causes or grounds of being. The tra-

cing of empirical laws step by step, however far and however nicely, can never bring us into the immediate sensible presence of the creative act. And to insist upon this process with absolute exclusiveness, is to repudiate the idea of creation altogether. No empirical truth is more certain than the absolute dictum of the reason, that there must have been a beginning to the course of material things; for an infinite series of phenomenal successions is a metaphysical absurdity.

But if we insist upon putting the beginning off, not only as far as our knowledge of facts extends, but, after the analogy of that knowledge, as far as our logical analysis can reach back, the object would seem to be, to come to mere brute matter before admitting the creative act; and, as this brute matter would involve no signs of intelligence, no order, arrangement or beauty, it might be supposed eternal; and thus, unless we admit creative acts in the original formations of this brute matter—acts which our analysis had failed to recognize—our real aim must be to avoid the idea of creation altogether. We have manifestly the right to put back the act of creation beyond the bounds of our actual experience or historical knowledge of the succession of phenomena; but we have no right to insist upon putting it back beyond the bounds of our possible theoretic analysis. If we admit the act of an intelligent Creator at all, that act may as well be, for aught we know or have a right to say, the creation of a compound which may afterwards be analyzed, as of simple elements which may afterwards be compounded; of a regular, orderly, complicated system at once, as of a chaos to be developed into such a system afterwards; of solid bodies in the very act of motion according to definite laws, as of bodies at rest to be set in motion by a subsequent impulse, or as of nebulosities to be gradually formed into spheres and systems; of thinking as of extended substance; of complex and definite organisms as of mere brute matter, or as of elementary particles with inherent laws. But no research or reasoning *à priori* or *à posteriori* can reach and disclose the definite point, when and where the creative act either must have taken place or actually did take place. That

point, if ascertained at all, must be ascertained on other authority.

Theorizing on empirical grounds is no better than theorizing on rational and *à priori* principles ; but rather it is worse, for it is at once more crude and facile, and more pretentious. Especially is this the case when these empirical theories spread out to an infinite breadth of superstructure upon the narrow basis of a few special facts, and those needing to be tested and confirmed. The spirit of speculative theorizing, against which Bacon so zealously protested, seems in these later times to have left the metaphysicians and gone over to the side of the physical philosophers. While metaphysicians have more and more adopted the Baconian method, the positivists seem to have inclined more and more to the Heraclitic, the atomistic, or the sophistical.

The Platonic *ideas* were never regarded as the original physical germs from which all historical and actual genera, species, and individuals, have descended by natural generation. They were never realized as phenomena. This would have been to contradict their very nature as archetypal ideas, and give them individual, even though original, existence. Consequently, instead of being eternal, they would long since have altogether ceased to exist.

Goethe's archetypal form may have been conceived as a historical fact ; but that was the imagination of a poet, not the expression of a scientific result.

Hegel it was, who held that the logical process is not only the ideal rule and norma for the development of nature, but is actually identical with the course of nature, history and life ; that the analysis of thought is the analysis of being ; that the whole universe in all its departments is developed from nothing by the logical steps of *position* and *negation*, or rather of *negation* and "negation of negation."

Mr. Darwin may be no metaphysician, least of all a Hegelian. He may even hold all metaphysics in supreme contempt. And yet his theory is but a crude expression or application of one of the abstrusest speculations of the modern German scholasticism. Without such an ontological speculation for its

basis, it will fall to pieces of itself. With all its show, or rather promise, of induction, it is really a pure *à priori* assumption, an assumption resting upon other assumptions which reach down to the bottomless abyss of Hegelian nihilism. The induction scarcely presents facts enough to illustrate what is meant by the theory; it is utterly futile as a proof that the theory is true. That proof will be found to consist chiefly in an appeal to our ignorance, to our inability to demonstrate the contrary—a mode of proof which may be very good in defence of the credibility of truths or doctrines generally admitted, or already established on their own proper and positive evidence, but quite an insufficient confirmation of a new speculative theory.

The Lamarckian or development theory, as ingeniously set forth in the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," took *law* as its basis and watchword. Under cover of immanent, universal and eternal law, it professed to retain, while in fact it dispensed with, the idea of God as a Creator. But this theory of Mr. Darwin openly dispenses with law itself, it expressly refuses to recognize any necessary or determinate law of development or variation (p. 306); and throws itself without reserve upon the illimitable ocean of accident. It may be regarded as a most singular revamping in modern form and phrase, of the old speculation of Leucippus and Democritus, that all the beautiful and complicated arrangements of the Kosmos are only the result of a fortuitous concurrence of atoms. To this theory Darwin simply adds what he calls the principle of "natural selection," to guide this blind chaotic struggle of the elements to the well-ordered result. But, after all, it does not appear that this principle adds anything to the scheme except a new name. This natural selection implies no intention, no intelligent purpose, no rational choice; it is only another name for the fact, for the result for which it professes to account. It suggests no real cause. It is in truth no principle at all. The result itself is represented as the result not of any antecedently impressed or inherent law, but merely of the play of circumstances, of the whirl of accident, of the universal conflict and struggle out of which all forms arise, and in

which they are preserved or destroyed by virtue of their mutual adaptations or antagonisms.

The Epicureans had substantially the same principle, when, having represented the original and eternal atoms endowed with motion and mutual attractions or repulsions, as rushing and whirling at random in infinite space, they added that of course, if several should by accident concur and combine together, they would have the advantage over the solitary atoms and would draw them into and around themselves, and then the larger bodies would subordinate to themselves the smaller bodies, and so the whole Kosmos would be gradually constructed. If the ancient Epicureans did not actually put their scheme into this very shape, it would be easy and natural to make this improvement upon their idea. If, with our knowledge of the solar system and of the stellar universe, we were to express, as we very naturally might, our incredulity at such a theory, we might be reminded that however vast the distance between the premises and the conclusion, between the assumed conditions and the actual result of this problem, there have been boundless ages for the process to go forward in, and no one can tell what immense changes and modifications might take place in the revolving cycles of a past eternity. Give us time enough, it might be said, and any thing may be made out of any thing, or made into any thing; light may be made out of darkness, order out of chaos, conscience out of a cucumber, mind out of matter, a sun out of a handful of mud, an eye out of a fibre of muscle or a bit of skin, and a man out of a tadpole or a bramble-bush, or all alike from some common original form; and then changes might go on by such infinitesimal gradations that they should be absolutely imperceptible in amount even for tens of thousands of years. When all impassable distinctions of *kind* are abolished, and only differences of *degree* remain, time enough will meet all exigencies and make any hypothesis credible. For, if we should object that we can see no signs of this process within the limits of actual experience, or even in the realms of the past, so far as they are revealed to our inspection, we might be reminded that our experience is very narrow in its range,

and our widest observation very limited, fragmentary, and imperfect. We might be told that nevertheless our limited sphere of vision furnishes us with more confirmations of this scheme than we had any right to expect; and we might be pointed to the perturbations that still exist among the heavenly bodies, to the changes that are still going on upon their surfaces, to the nebulosities that are still visible here and there in space, and to the varieties that are still developed among pigeons, pigs, and sundry plants. The problem might be stated thus: Take the difference between the rock pigeon and the tumbler, and call it a ; take the time which has been required to evolve this difference, and call it b ; then take the difference between a man, with all his high organization, all his intellectual and moral faculties, and a bat, or a craw-fish, or a blade of timothy, or a lump of bog-iron ore, or any thing else you please, and call that difference what you please, any thing short of infinite, say m^n ; and the formula for the time in which it would be conceivable that this difference should develop itself would be easily found. It would be $x = \frac{bm^n}{a}$, a period of time which would be finite, since all the terms in which it is expressed are finite. Would not this be a magnificent illustration of the Baconian method, of Positive science, in short, of reasoning from the known to the unknown?

Mr. Darwin admits that if there is any arrangement, feature, form, or flower in the animal or vegetable kingdom "intended for beauty in the eye of man, or for mere variety," it is fatal to his theory. This admission goes deeper than he imagines; for, not to say that, in fact, any idea whatever of design or intelligence in the processes of nature is fatal to his theory, it is manifest that not only any development intended for beauty in the eye of man, but any development intended for beauty at all in any degree whatever, is fatal to his theory. His theory cannot account for it. Natural Selection will not help him. All that is beautiful to the eye of man or to the apprehension of any higher intelligence in the universe, wherever it be, in whatever province or kingdom of nature, must, in his theory, in so far as it is beautiful, be the result of sheer accident! *Credat philosophia positiva!* And yet this philo-

sophy shrinks aghast from the mysteries of the Christian faith. It strains out the gnat and swallows the camel.

We have just said that any idea whatever of design or intelligence in the processes of organic nature is fatal to Mr. Darwin's theory. This may seem too sweeping an assertion; but we think it can be thoroughly substantiated. Mr. Darwin scouts the phrases, "plan of creation," "unity of design," etc., as "expressions under which we only hide our ignorance, and think that we give an explanation when we only restate a fact." Yet the actual results of fulness, of variety in unity, of order and gradation are fully admitted by him as facts, while they are traced to the operation of "Natural Selection." We submit that it is really his theory that, professing to account for the fact, only restates it. Or at most it gives us the process, and that a process assumed without satisfactory proof, in the stead and to the exclusion of the intelligent cause. The intelligent cause might indeed be supposed to effectuate its plans and designs by this process; but the process cannot rationally be substituted for the plan, the design, and the intelligence, so as entirely to dispense with them. But unless this personal, creative intelligence is rejected altogether, we can see no reason why it cannot be supposed to effectuate its plans and designs by other methods, by acts of creation, for example, as precisely as by that process of so-called natural selection. All animal instincts, the instincts of the bee and the ant, for instance, which have usually been considered most striking proofs of creative intelligence, Mr. Darwin regards as the result of mere accident, and the process of "natural selection." He declares the grouping of all organic beings and the prodigious variety of nature to be utterly inexplicable on the theory of creation. Yet the beautiful order and the harmonious variety of nature cannot be conceived by him as the result of any design operating in any other way; for, if they were intended, he declares them to be utterly fatal, not to the idea of creation, but to his own theory.

The facts adduced by Mr. Darwin may be sufficient to overthrow such crude theories of creation as those proposed by Professor Agassiz and by several geologists. And if this is all

he means when he declares these facts inconsistent with "the theory of creation," we have nothing to object. But, however it may be with his facts or his intentions, his theory is really so framed and so carried out as to be inconsistent with any proper idea of creation whatever. His "Natural Selection" is really substituted for final causes, and excludes them.

But his theory is itself either vacillating and undetermined, or as yet not sufficiently bold to exhibit itself at once in all its monstrous proportions and legitimate consequences. At one time he talks of the breath of life being breathed into the *first animal*, the original ancestor of the whole animal kingdom; unwittingly, or perhaps only metaphorically stopping here with the idea of special creation. At another time, he is ready to develop all animals and plants alike, by natural descent, from some one common prototype. How this prototype or primordial form originated or was constituted, does not seem to have been revealed to him; though he speaks here again of "life having been first breathed into it." But surely it must be by a figure of speech that life was first *breathed* into the primordial form of the vegetable kingdom. And if, under this metaphor, a special act of creative power is really admitted, it is only a weakness and an inconsistency in his scheme. For, if that act be admitted here, it is just as much required and may be quite as reasonably admitted, to explain the origin of all the distinct species of the several kingdoms of organic nature. Surely it requires as great a stretch of credulity to believe that man has descended by natural generation—not now from a monkey or a flea, but from the common prototype of all plants and animals, as to believe that such a common prototype, in its crude original form, developed itself somehow from an original eternal fire mist. Indeed, when a man has faith strong enough to believe that the wonderful instincts of the ant and the bee have been developed by a series of happy accidents, which have been taken advantage of and turned to account by the blind process of natural selection; and even to believe that the mind of man, with all rational powers and moral perceptions and sensibilities, has been similarly developed from the common primordial type of carrots and toads, we see not why he may not

believe or disbelieve anything. With such a faith it must be quite useless to reason. Such a faith becomes more than scientific in the breadth of its vision ; it becomes prophetic. "In the distant future," says Mr. Darwin, "I see open fields for far more important researches. Psychology will be based on a new foundation, that of the necessary acquirement of each mental power and capacity by gradation. Light will be thrown on the origin of man and his history."

But it is time to look directly at the great cardinal point in Mr. Darwin's book, which is, to break down the distinction between varieties and species on the one hand, and between species and genera on the other.

In the classifications of Naturalists, considered with reference to the *genesis* of organic beings, the *species* is the fundamental thing. The commonly received conception has been, that each species consists inclusively and exclusively of those individuals which are presumably descended from one stock, from a separate and peculiar primordial form. Individuals, accordingly, are referred to the same species when they are known to have a common parentage, and they are presumed to have a common parentage when they may mingle naturally, freely, and with permanent fruitfulness, with each other. If there be considerable and permanent diversities of appearance and structure among individuals which are thus referred to the same species, these diversities give rise to what are called *varieties*. Naturalists sometimes doubt or differ as to whether a so-called variety should not rather be denominated a species, and *vice versâ*. But this only betrays the imperfection of our knowledge, not the falsity of our principle. The principle is confirmed by the general law, by the vast multitude of instances. Those cases of doubt are exceptional and exceedingly rare ; and, being, in terms, of a doubtful character, they cannot overthrow the principle. To make them the basis of a general theory of organic nature, is no better than it would be to take idiots and monstrous births as the foundation of the definition of man.

As to the higher members of the classifications in Natural Science, genera, families, classes, orders, etc., they have always

been understood as mere logical arrangements made for our scientific convenience, according to the laws of human thought; and as having, otherwise, no objective validity.

Mr. Darwin admits substantially the fact we have stated in regard to the conception of species. "Community of descent," says he, "is the hidden bond which naturalists have been seeking."

In his effort to break down the distinction between varieties and species, we think he has signally failed. After all the new light he has been able to elicit from the variations of plants and pigeons, he fully admits (p. 236) that "it is almost invariably the case that varieties, however much they may differ, cross with perfect facility, and yield perfectly fertile offspring;" while (p. 223) he expressly "doubts whether any case of a perfectly fertile hybrid animal [that is, a cross between different species] can be considered as thoroughly well-authenticated." He avers (p. 243) that "the difficulty in crossing species is not a special endowment for the purpose of keeping them separate, but depends on unknown differences in their reproductive system." Thus the fact is admitted, and it is admitted that a certain result actually follows from it. It is only denied that the fact was so arranged with a view to the result; but it is insisted that both fact and result have been brought about by unknown causes without any design. That is to say, *design* is to be rejected again at all hazards.

He puts the case (p. 369) that a kangaroo were to come out of a bear, and admits that, then, it would be, and not only so, all kangaroos would be, bears. Thus, the genetic idea of species is admitted, and their fixedness is admitted even more emphatically than he probably was aware of; for suppose he should inquire how he determines antecedently the limits of his subject, "all kangaroos," of which he speaks as something already ascertained.

The present fixedness of specific forms is moreover admitted in another remarkable passage, where he uses the following language (p. 157): "Each organic being is related in the most important manner to other organic beings. . . . These species are already defined objects, (however they may have

become so,) not blending into one another by insensible gradations," etc.

He admits that there are no instances in our present experience or in past history, or even in the records of the vast ages revealed by geology, of one species passing into another; and adds, that nevertheless "the number of intermediate and transitional links between all living and extinct species must have been inconceivably great." This proposition is, we think, more strictly true than he was aware. But he proceeds: "Assuredly, if this theory be true, such [i. e., such intermediate and transitional links] have lived upon this earth." Yet all the researches of modern Geology, as he admits, have revealed no trace of them! How strange!

In his effort to confound species and genera, he is equally unsuccessful. He alleges that there are more varieties in the species of large genera than in those of the smaller. How far this is the fact we will not stop to inquire, only saying that, at all events, it is not true universally, or at least, not proportionally. But he thinks that this fact indicates unequivocally that those large genera were originally species, from which these present species have been gradually developed by natural selection; and that it cannot be explained on the hypothesis of the special creation of each species. Now, we submit that this last is the only way in which it can be explained; that is to say, it can be explained only as being the arrangement of a designing, creating mind acting according to its eternal ideas of fulness and order and beauty, and producing the particular effect or phenomena as it exists or has existed at any given point; whether directly, or indirectly through antecedent steps of development, we have no right to prescribe *à priori*; but at all events producing it. Such a theory will explain the phenomenon; that is, it will assign for it a sufficient cause, if that cause really exists; and that cause is a true cause, it really exists, if God, if a personal, intelligent Creator exists. On the other hand, Mr. Darwin's theory gives no explanation at all. Granting that "natural selection" will explain the development of species and varieties from different genera, it cannot explain the differences in these various developments; it can-

not explain why there should be more species or varieties under one genus than under another ; for the same cause will not account for a difference in the effects—and that is precisely what is here to be accounted for. Besides “natural selection,” Mr. Darwin’s theory suggests no cause but either accident or necessity, and, assuredly, it is too late in the centuries for them to be suggested as real causes of any thing.

In one place, Mr. Darwin declares the arrangement of animals and plants in groups subordinate to groups, in sections, genera, sub-genera, species, etc., to be inconsistent with special creations. His idea seems to be, in the last analysis, that all resemblances whatever of organic structures must have come by descent from a common origin ; and that this is self-evident. But he has answered himself, in another place, in the following words : “I am inclined to believe that in nearly the same way as two men have sometimes independently hit on the very same invention, so natural selection, working for the good of each being and taking advantage of analogous variations, has sometimes modified in very nearly the same manner two parts in two organic beings, which owe but little of their structure in common to inheritance from the same ancestor.” But, assuredly, it is as reasonable to suppose that one Divine creative mind—if the existence of such a mind is not denied—should have acted upon a harmonious plan, and should have produced analogous results in different cases, as that the common reason of two different men should do so ; and infinitely more reasonable to suppose it, than to suppose that a mere abstraction, a mere act, a mere process, called “natural selection,” should have blindly produced such results. Here again may be observed how Mr. Darwin really looks to *accident* as the true explanation of phenomena ; any thing rather than an intelligent Creator. He expressly says, he would “sooner assume thousands on thousands of generations,” 1400,000,000 is the number he pitches upon in another place, waiting for the accidents that might occur in their course, than admit so absurd a thing as God’s creation ; his creation of the different species of a genus with similar tendencies as to color, stripes, etc.

We regard Mr. Darwin's facts and deductions as abundantly sufficient to show the credibility and probability of the commonly received doctrine, that all the different races of men are descended from one common stock; and to refute all objections which can be urged against this doctrine, from analogy, from the difficulty of geographical distribution, or from the permanence of the various types. There is positive, independent evidence of the genetic unity of mankind; the testimony of a well accredited divine revelation; not to speak of the probable unity of language, ancient tradition, and common belief. And if there were equally strong positive evidence, or any positive evidence whatever, of the original unity of all plants and animals, or of all animals, or of each genus of animals, we might admit that Mr. Darwin has done something to show that such a fact would be credible. But when there is not, and cannot be, the slightest particle of positive evidence or testimony that such is the fact, his theory and all its possibilities are no better proof than the dream of an inebriate or the visions of a madman. He admits, too, that his theory is contradicted by all there is of positive evidence in the discoveries of Geology; and is opposed, not only by the almost universal belief, but by the best scientific authorities, in fact by almost every scientific name of any celebrity. That is to say, he embraces his theory, it would seem, as a matter of pure faith, admitting that the great mass of facts and evidence, that authority and reason, are against him. Indeed we do not recollect ever to have met a writer who made such naïve acknowledgments that his whole course of argument was a piece of special pleading. We hardly know sometimes, whether he is really in earnest, or is merely endeavoring to show his ingenuity, in defending a paradox.

The freedom and *sang froid* with which he uses the *argumentum ad ignorantiam*, are, considering the circumstances, quite amusing. "We are profoundly ignorant of the causes producing slight and unimportant variations." (P. 176.) And thus he is confident that a well developed fish-tail might, for aught we know to the contrary, be transformed in the course of ages, say of 1400,000,000 generations, into almost anything.

arms, legs, head, brain, or whatever might be serviceable to any animal. If the old woman of the fable, and her calf, could have lived together through all these generations, she might easily have come to lift an ox, or even an elephant, if the calf had grown to that size; or she might have changed into an elephant or a calf herself, and gone through all the metamorphoses of Ovid.

If the geologic record is urged against him, he appeals for evidence in his favor to the blanks of geologic history; while he expresses his surprise, indeed, that more wrecks of ancient life, in caves, etc., have not been preserved (p. 127). He reminds us also of the immensity of time requisite to produce the actual changes by natural selection (p. 247), and thinks that the lapse of years required for each geologic formation may be short, in comparison with the time requisite to transform one species into another (p. 257). Indeed he never would have thought the geologic record so imperfect, but for the necessity of saving his theory (p. 264). "From these and similar considerations," he adds, "but chiefly from our ignorance of the geology of other countries beyond the confines of Europe and the United States; and from the revolution in our paleontological ideas on many points, which the discoveries of even the last dozen years have effected, it seems to me about as rash in us to dogmatize on the succession of organic beings throughout the world, as it would be for a naturalist to land for five minutes on some barren point in Australia, and then to discuss the number and range of its productions."

Now all this, from his stand-point, the stand-point of a mere baseless and begging theory, is simply ludicrous; almost as ludicrous as the inference he elsewhere makes from certain experiments which have not been tried with the kidney-bean, (p. 129). He seems to forget that others besides geologists may rashly "dogmatize on the succession of organic beings throughout the world." Yet it would be well for our geologists to give heed to what Mr. Darwin has here told them. For, though the imperfect results of their partial investigations may be abundantly sufficient to annihilate a mere hypothesis like Mr. Darwin's, it is clear they cannot have a feather's weight

against the truth or credibility of one well attested scientific or historical fact.

Mr. Darwin appeals with confidence to rudimentary organs, as a final confirmation of his theory; and he presses them into his service in a characteristic way, by assuming that, as all organs have been developed by use, these have become rudimentary again by long-continued disuse. But he has not furnished the slightest evidence of the fact. He refers to the papillæ on the breasts of males; but he has not given a particle of evidence that, though they have been disused from the earliest known generations of men, they have diminished in the slightest degree, or shown the slightest sign of a tendency to become effaced since the earliest delineations or knowledge of the human form. And yet this result should certainly have followed; for if the once full-developed organs could have been reduced to rudiments by disuse, that disuse continued should efface the rudiments entirely. The rudiments are surely as useless as ever the original organs could be; and after the immense changes that must have taken place in developing a man and a turnip from the same primordial form, it is strange that these useless rudiments should remain unchanged and uneffaced.

Mr. Darwin instances the rudimentary upper teeth of calves, and thinks they may be the relics of teeth that were once useful when cattle lived by browsing; but he has not exhibited any evidence that the upper teeth of modern calves are a whit less distinct than they were in ancient times; nor has he shown that they become more fully developed when the parents live by browsing; nor, finally, has he shown that upper teeth would not be as *useful* for oxen in grazing as they are for sheep and horses. The upshot of the matter is, that he can more readily believe that the ox, with his lower as well as the rudimentary upper teeth, and man with his rudimentary papillæ, his hands, feet, head, brain, his eye in fine frenzy rolling, his discourse of reason looking before and after, his conscience, and all, have come by natural generation from the same hermaphroditic, vegeto-animal, primordial form from which have come the gnat and the elephant, the ichthyosaurus

and the megatherium, the mammoth and the maggot, the cabbage and the pumpkin, than to believe that God could have made these species of men and oxen as they are, or could have arranged his creation according to any laws of economy or mutual analogy.

Does he not know that ninety-nine one hundredths of all forest seeds perish or are destroyed without developing into trees, and yet are organized and fitted every one for germination and growth? And does he find in this a proof that no intelligent, designing, creative mind can have constituted the trees to bear such seed to be wasted and lost? What does he mean by what he calls "the law of correlation of growth," to which he himself appeals when he gets beyond his depth with the principle of natural selection? Is not "correlation of growth" a sort of natural harmony and correspondence in organic developments, which defies either accident or utility to explain it? Is it not as consistent with specific creation as with natural selection? And will it not explain the existence of rudimentary organs, as well at least, as it can be explained by this monstrous theory of the historical development of all organic beings from one primordial type?

A great multitude of questions, it seems to us, might be asked which Mr. Darwin's theory is bound to answer, but which it cannot satisfy—questions which the theory, or rather the fact, of creation answers in the most natural manner. For example, why do men have the same number of fingers on one hand as on the other, and the same number of toes as fingers, if every thing is determined by use, and nothing by creative laws of beauty, proportion and harmony? Why is not human hair sometimes green or blue, or the iris of the eye white or red? Can any better reason be given than the good pleasure of Him who made them? Why should men have a beard and women none? If it is of use to men, why not to women? And if it would be of use to women, why should not natural selection have multiplied the few women who have it? Why are not men eight or ten feet high, and as strong as elephants; would it not be useful to them? Why are there no races of winged men, as well as flying squirrels;

is it only for want of the happy accident for natural selection to start with? It would be *so* convenient! Perhaps we may expect such developments among the infinite changes and chances of an eternal future

If natural selection is the key to the development of organic beings, whence come the infinite variety and fulness of the species of such beings, from the countless infusoria to the mammoth and the elephant, from the humblest and tiniest moss to the giant trees of California, from the oyster to rational man? Mr. Darwin admits and insists upon the fulness of nature, according to the adage, *Natura non facit saltum*. But is it not a strange kind of *selection*, which results in taking all sorts and sizes, just as if there were no selection at all? And is it not a strange sort of philosophy, which satisfies itself with natural selection as an explanation of the fact, rather than with the good pleasure and infinite intelligence of a wise and benevolent Creator? The truth is, as we have said, "natural selection" can mean nothing as a cause. It is, at best, only a restatement of the facts as they are, or a theoretical suggestion of the process or law by which they have come into their present condition. And if those who hold this doctrine reply that *that* is just what they mean by it, that they do not deny the agency of an intelligent Creator, that they admit and hold that He breathed the breath of life into the original primordial form of organic beings, or at least that he created the primeval fire mist and endued matter with its inherent laws, that they only propose to trace scientifically the laws and the process by which He works out his grand designs, and thus that they really honor and exalt the infinite Creator, more than we do by our childish theory of special interposition; if all this is said, we have only to ask again, by what right, when an intelligent Creator is once admitted, by what right of reason or revelation can they deny that he may have made the various species of organic beings by his creative fiat, each with its appropriate laws of growth and variation? By what right can this be denied, if he may be allowed thus to have created, *created* we say, a primordial organic form, or even a diffused nebulousity? Alone, natural selection can accomplish

nothing and explain nothing. Unless we are to couple it with chance or fate to solve the problems of nature, and be satisfied in these later scientific days with the old solution of Democritus; we may as well rest at once in an all-wise Creator as the real cause of all things, originating, organizing and disposing all according to his good pleasure, and by regular processes or laws; some of which processes and laws we may humbly learn, but which we are never authorized proudly to prescribe; of which we may avail ourselves for our use and comfort, but which we may never turn against the being and agency of Him who established them. "Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, why hast thou made me thus?" This is indeed mere Scripture; and, for aught we know, Mr. Darwin may be ready to dismiss it with a sneer of scientific contempt. But we honestly confess, that, in our judgment, it contains a greater truth, and a profounder scientific principle than Mr. Darwin's book can boast of. We recommend to those who would follow Bacon's philosophic method, to imitate also Bacon's reverent spirit.

ART. VIII.—MAINE DE BIRAN'S PHILOSOPHY.

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Maine de Biran, sa vie et ses pensées, publiées par Ernest Naville. 8vo. Geneva, 1859.

Introduction Générale aux Œuvres de Maine de Biran, par Ernest Naville. 1 vol. 8vo. Geneva, 1859.

Œuvres Inédites de Maine de Biran, publiées par Ernest Naville, avec la collaboration de Marc Debrit. 8vo. Paris, 1859.

THESE three works relate to a solitary and original philosopher, who, after having been for some time rather overlooked in France, has lately attracted attention. He owes

this good fortune in part to the edition which a distinguished thinker, M. Ernest Naville, has recently given us of his unpublished works. Not that Maine de Biran was unknown; for the reviver of spiritualism in France, Royer-Collard, had publicly called him "the master of us all," and Mr. Cousin had spoken of him as "the greatest French philosopher since Malebranche." What seems to have been chiefly wanting hitherto to Maine de Biran's reputation is an intermedium sufficiently sympathetic to appreciate him, and such he appears to have at last found.

Let us speak at once of what characterizes this thinker. Starting from the doctrine of Condillac, he raised himself entirely alone, by his own efforts, not only as high as spiritualism, but even to Christianity. This phenomenon is important in respect to the history of modern philosophy, in that it establishes in the most evident manner, that France did not wait for the influence of Scotland and of Germany to refute the deplorable theories of her philosopher Condillac.

The philosophy of Maine de Biran is only a Psychology, but this is the indispensable foundation upon which to raise a more complete edifice. His theory is briefly this. The author divides into three different lives all the facts which our nature presents, considering them in the successive stages of its complete development.

1. The first life, or *animal life*, is governed by the impressions of pleasure or of pain of which the organized frame is the occasion. This life is the seat of the blind passions, of all in us that is unconscious and involuntary; it is the state of the child in infancy, before the first awakening of conscience; the state into which we relapse whenever, abdicating the government of our destinies, we accept the yoke of the organic inclinations which constitute our temperament. The states of sleep, mental alienation, and other analogous ones find their places here.

2. The second life, or *life of the man*, commences at the appearance of will and intelligence; the first unfolding of the will is the condition. Ideas and speech are added to the instincts; personal power enters into combination with these

instincts, struggles with them and abandons itself in a greater or less degree to their impulsion. There is a conflict between two powers of different orders: the lower inclinations subsist and still make their empire felt, while reason catches a glimpse of a more elevated sphere and of a better existence.

3. The third life is the *life of the spirit*. The will, instead of seeking a basis in itself, abandons itself to the higher influences of the divine spirit. The struggle then ceases: man, identified as far as is possible with the eternal source of all strength and all light, finds peace and joy in the feeling of his intimate union with God; the animal nature is vanquished and the triumph of the divine life made certain.

Effort is the distinctive characteristic of the second life: it is reserved for *love* to raise man to the third. True love consists in the complete sacrifice of one's self to the object beloved. When we are prepared invariably to sacrifice our own will to it, while at the same time we no longer desire any thing but in and for it, in our self-denial our soul from that time is at peace, and love becomes the supreme good of life.

Whatever may be the worth of these results, which at least are invaluable as setting a higher value upon facts than the idealist theories, it will at all events be interesting to see by what labor, slow but sure, M. de Biran obtained them. The biography of M. Ernest Naville makes us present at the birth, and through the gradual development, of the psychology of his master.

We here see, that Maine de Biran was from an early age inclined to psychological meditations. "From infancy," he says, "I remember that I marvelled to feel that I existed; I was even then inclined, as by instinct, to look within myself to find out how it was that I lived and was myself." Neither the din of camps (Maine de Biran was a life-guardsman during the later years of the old French Monarchy), nor absorbing political interests (under the two restorations, after the fall of Napoleon, our philosopher was member of the Chamber of Deputies), nor domestic affliction, were able to distract his attention from those psychological studies, which his early ill-health favored by tormenting him with the desire of watching his own life.

"In order to understand the psychological career of M. de Biran," says his editor, "we must never forget that he was not led to philosophy by a desire to become acquainted with the secrets of the universe, nor even by the desire of acquiring a knowledge of man in general, but through the necessity of rendering an account to himself of *his own proper being*. Know thyself, before being for him a rule of scientific method, was in the first place an instinct." *Vie*, p. 17.

M. de Biran, from the outset, was scandalized at the assertion of Cabanis, that "the brain directs the impressions and organically effects the secretion of thought." In the opinion of this school the moral is only the physical considered under a certain particular aspect.

He gradually separated from his masters, and arrived, without always being fully conscious of the fact, at principles which upset the system he had at first admitted. To the doctrine which starts with making man a mere being of sense and inevitably results in denying liberty, M. de Biran opposes a doctrine which makes liberty not a demonstrated thesis, but an axiom raised above all dispute. Liberty, in effect, is not only a fact of consciousness, it is preëminently *the* fact of consciousness, since it is the condition of that self-consciousness which all men have. Man is essentially free, since it is the possession of freedom of will which makes him man. But, because of his double nature, he is unceasingly solicited to yield to sensible impulsions.

M. de Biran's position is fully embodied in the following passages: "The fundamental act of human existence is an *effort*, that is to say, an action indivisibly connected with resistance; and the consciousness of power is only brought out by the feeling of this very resistance. Effort, resistance; these two terms are inseparable, since by the suppression of one of them the other disappears."

"Man knows and feels that he is of a double nature primitively. By means of his exterior senses he may learn that he possesses a body, having extension and shape, and endowed with certain sensible qualities; but without having seen his body, or passed his hand over its surface, he has the immediate

and purely inward knowledge of an organism which resists and yields to his effort. This feeling is inseparable from that of his existence ; the soul and the body manifest themselves at the same time and indivisibly." "Such is the primitive fact of knowledge—absolute, irreducible duality, consisting of an acting cause and of a resisting term, not of a substance and of a mode. . . . These two terms of primitive fact do not fall under the law of succession and time ; there is neither before nor after between them, since they are constituted by each other. Philosophical analysis is insufficient if it does not penetrate as far as this fundamental duality : it becomes abstract, that is to say, it loses itself in wandering from the source of all reality from the time it pretends to go still higher." *Introduction Générale*, LV.

We have thus his theory of the relations between the physical and the moral. Every action of the soul is presented as an effort, and an effort in which the body appears as an element which resists. It is only to consciousness, to a purely interior knowledge, that he appeals to establish this point of doctrine.

We have already indicated the very important function which he attributes to the will ; we must return to it, because this is one of his most characteristic points. "Free will, the will in its true sense, appears here in the foreground, while the history of philosophy shows that this constitutive force of man has almost always been misunderstood. Most philosophers have given a too exclusive attention to the facts of sensibility and intellect, and liberty has been denied as a final result in the school of Descartes and of Leibnitz, quite as much as in that of Condillac. Now, M. de Biran does not confine himself to describing the will as an element by the side of other elements, and in demanding a little more room for it ; he makes it the foundation of man's existence, shows it in all the modes of this existence, seeks to prove that it is the common basis of all that is human. This is what chiefly characterizes his work." *Maine de Biran, etc.*, p. 38.

Those who have seized the import of this preponderating work attributed to the will, will not be astonished to learn that M. de Biran finally arrived at stoicism. But his stay here was

only temporary. Troubled in his convictions, ill at ease with regard to himself and his family (between Leipsic and Waterloo), he was, as it were, forced to seek a firm, eternal thought for the peace of his soul. "To preserve myself from despair," he writes at this period, "I will think of God, I will take refuge in his bosom." It is important to remark that it was a practical need which introduced the idea of God into his speculations, where it had hitherto been wanting, and which it was soon to govern. He has himself criticised Stoicism compared with Christianity. The consolations and the maxims of the stoic philosophy may be good for the strong, for those who possess great qualities of soul and character. But what help can they give to the poor in spirit, to weak, sinful men? It is in this that Christianity triumphs, that it gives to the most miserable of men an exterior support which can never fail him so long as he trusts to it. "Resignation, patience, and tranquillity of soul, this is as high as the soul can rise by the sole aid of philosophy; but to *love* suffering, to rejoice in it as a means leading to the happiest end, to attach one's self voluntarily to the cross and to the example of the Saviour of men, this can be taught and practised by the Christian philosopher alone." P. 317.

But our philosopher did not arrive at once, and with a single bound, at this result. Separated from stoicism, he had not yet embraced Christianity; the doctrine of grace repelled him; he was still more of a stoic than he supposed. He hesitated for a moment and asked himself if there might not be exaggeration on both sides. Does not the Christian doctrine of grace tend towards contempt of our own strength; is it not in danger of denying liberty? But guided by this need of support, which plays so important a part in his inner life, M. de Biran constantly drew nearer Christianity. These are the considerations which decided him. If, when the idea of *good* were present in the mind, the will found in itself strength sufficient to realize this good, notwithstanding the seductions of the senses and the suggestions of the inclinations, we should have nothing to ask of God; it would be enough for us to give thanks to him for having engraved these precepts upon our consciences

and for having made us active and free to fulfil them. This is, doubtless, the ideal man; but is it indeed the actual man? Experience tells us a far different story. To accomplish good it is not enough to understand it; with the clearest view of right, the will oftens falls back upon itself in the consciousness of its own weakness; reason is not enough to furnish motives to the will. This is, without question, a miserable condition, but this misery is real; the question is not to decide what man might be or ought to be, but to furnish to man, such as he is, the help which is necessary to him.

It is at the close of these experiences that M. de Biran is led to recognize the need of the Gospel. This aid sought for the failing will, and this adhesion of heart to suffering, involve a common sentiment—humility, and are included in a single act—prayer. Prayer and humility appear to our philosopher the special and distinctive characteristics of the Christian doctrine. Prayer is at once an appeal to strengthening grace, and a filial resignation on man's part to the designs, whatever they may be, of a merciful Providence. "O what need I have to pray!" cries de Biran, and after having done so he writes in his journal: "Provided with contentment, peace and reason—the effect of prayer."

The objections which he had at first raised against the doctrine of grace disappeared so entirely, that his editor feels obliged to explain certain extravagant phrases which might induce the supposition that he went to an opposite extreme. The great defender of liberty and of the will speaks sometimes as a man who considers that the highest degree of Christian perfection consists in *losing one's self in God*, to lose even the sentiment of one's personal existence, with one's liberty. More frequently, however, he represents that man and God concur in a mysterious union for the deliverance of the soul; he declares that effort, and prayer, which is also an effort, are the conditions imposed upon him who would aspire to spiritual life; he knows that God is found of them that seek him; that we must aim at the end by the practice of the divine will, and call down grace by the purity of life.

Was M. de Biran indeed a Christian? It would seem as if

this question need not be asked after what precedes. Yet the editor (in other respects very sympathetic) of the works of this philosopher is led to declare, that the Christianity of his master lacked an essential element. The need of support had become with M. de Biran the need of grace, and the need of grace had naturally directed his looks towards Him who had made the promise. With this fundamental position another is directly connected. Jesus Christ sums up in his person all the features of the higher existence, of the divine life to which we may aspire. He who has given the promise of the divine Spirit is at the same time, in his life and in his death, the completed type of the ideal which is adapted to man in the conditions of his earthly existence. These two elements, the promised help and the realized ideal, are about the only ones which M. de Biran seized out of the whole mass of Christian doctrines; the idea of *pardon* has no place in his mind. In the last lines of his journal he indeed invokes the divine Mediator; but this mediator is not he who places himself between the culprit and the judge; he is the friend who prevents man from yielding to the weight of solitude.

In consequence of his whole inward development, M. de Biran was led, not to reject, but not even to perceive, this capital element of pardon. He had never carefully fixed his attention upon the subjects of moral obligation and the responsibility which is its consequence. His personal sickly constitution had awakened his interest in respect to the relations of the soul with the organism, rather than in respect to the relations of the will with the law of duty. Weakness, misery—these are what he discovered with pain in himself and in his fellow-men, not sin properly so called, the transgression of the law. He seeks deliverance and support, rather than pardon from an offended God. Our philosopher thus arrives at grace without having passed through the wholesome medium of the law. This explains to us why the *Imitation of Jesus Christ* and the *Œuvres Spirituelles* of Fénelon were his favorite reading. These works take for granted the Christian doctrine far more than they express it, and relate in an almost exclusive manner to the work of the Spirit of God in the soul of the believer.

Lacking the knowledge of duty in its majestic severity, he did not experience the need of pardon. In this respect, the philosophy of M. Biran is far inferior to that of Kant, who placed duty at the base of his system, and who has made the moral the foundation of the metaphysical. On another side the French philosopher naturally approaches the sage of Königsberg. The religion of M. de Biran rests almost entirely upon inward experiences and the facts of consciousness, without an external and historic basis, without any objective element. Jesus Christ is presented as an ideal which conscience accepts: but did the God-man come into the world? Must we behold in him a real, historic being, who appeared on earth as a manifestation of the divine mercy? Maine de Biran was called into God's presence before having had time to examine this problem with the minutely careful and delicate perception which characterizes him.

It is useless to ask what he would have done if he had lived longer. Notwithstanding all that is defective in the Christianity of this philosopher, and his death in the bosom of Catholicism, his writings have none the less been received with marked sympathy by all the pious men in the bosom of French Protestantism. The reason is, they arrived at a fitting time. At an epoch when so many theologians are gradually separating themselves from the Gospel to make shipwreck upon the pantheistic and naturalist systems, it is very instructive to behold a philosopher take his departure, on the contrary, from sensualism, and raise himself by his own efforts as high as the spiritual doctrines of Christianity. Mr. Naville gives the following account of this singularly instructive phenomenon.

"Men who leave theology for metaphysics run a great risk of becoming intoxicated with the conception of the freedom of thought, of becoming dazzled and as it were blinded by the medium, new to them, of pure reason and dialectics. The more the Christian graces are familiar to them so much the more do they run the risk of believing them natural, of considering as primitive, and as naturally pertaining to the human mind, intellectual and moral facts which are produced only under the influence of the Gospel. And this is without doubt one of the reasons why schools of theology have so often aided the cause of rationalism, even more perhaps than the schools of pure philosophy.

"Minds which come from philosophy to religion are in a different condition. They know better what reason left to its own resources can and cannot do. The dialectic medium which they have traversed in every direction has lost its illusions and enchantments for them; they have learned, too well to forget it, what was wanting to them in pure philosophy, since the feeling of this want had contributed its share in leading them to the Gospel. For a clear and sure view of the importance of the Christian doctrines, and of the nature and place of supernatural order, the conditions of intellect which meet with faith are more certain than those of faith aiming at intellectual apprehension."—*Introduction, cxcv.*

We find expressions in M. de Biran himself which completely authorize his editor to use this language. "Religion alone," he says, "solves the problems which philosophy proposes. It alone teaches us where to find truth, the absolute reality; it also tells us that in judging of things according to the senses, or even in accordance with an artificial and conventional reason, we live in a perpetual illusion. It is in raising ourselves towards God, in endeavoring to identify ourselves with him by his grace, that we see and appreciate things as they are." P. 270.

M. de Biran had, it will be conceded, the double merit of having left sensualism to reach spiritualism, and of having thus drawn, without any foreign aid, French philosophy from the evil source in which it had embarked with Condillac; he moreover determined the true relations between Christianity and philosophy. But Mr. Naville claims a merit for his master which should insure him a far higher place in the history of modern philosophy. In his view to M. de Biran belongs the discovery of the true psychological method, of which Descartes has the glory, but with great impropriety. Descartes, unquestionably, laid at the base of his whole metaphysical structure the *I am*, the immediate expression of the fact of consciousness. But he hardly takes a step before he abandons the region of facts to throw himself into the world of ideas; the *I* disappears, to leave thought alone, the foundation of the entire Cartesian edifice. In thought Descartes finds the Infinite; in the Infinite, God; in God, the explanation *a priori* of the universe and of man. All he asks of experience,

whose rights he is eager to disown, is a footing from which to throw himself forward. As for investigating the conditions of consciousness, the manner in which the subject is exhibited to himself, the position of *fact* in all intellectual operations, the author of the *Discours de la Méthode* is far from even thinking of it. At the point from which Descartes so soon wanders, the *I am*, M. de Biran stops. To determine the fact of consciousness, to recognize its conditions, to assign its part in all human life; such to his eyes is the highest object of science, and he shows that this study is the starting-point for all metaphysics, that the manner in which the *Me* is conceived necessarily determines the manner in which a conception is formed of the general system of existences. One can not fail to recognize in these points the bases of the true psychological method.

What we have said respecting this original recluse will suffice to draw upon him the attention of all who are occupied with philosophy, and above all with Christian philosophy. No one who pretends to follow the course of modern philosophy should be ignorant of his writings.

Theological and Literary Intelligence.

MR. CHOWLSON published last year in the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg an essay, also translated into German, on the Remains of the Ancient Babylonian Literature, preserved in the Arabic translation of the Book of Agriculture of the Nabatheans (Babylonians). The work contains many new and curious details upon the writers and religious schools, the history and civilization, of the old empires of the East: Mr. Chowlson calls it "a veritable California" for the religions, the astronomy and science of these people. The present memoir is an introduction to the full work. An interesting and valuable account of it, and a discussion of its bearings upon the Biblical history is given by F. de Rougemont of Neuchâtel in the *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, January, 1860.

The origin of one of the most singular various readings of the Septuagint has been recently discussed in the *Notes and Queries*: It is of Psalm xcvi. 10 (in Eng. and Heb. xevi. 10), which reads simply "the Lord reigned;" in some editions of the Septuagint "the Lord reigned from the tree," *à ligno*. Justin Martyr in his dialogue with the Jew Tryphe complains of the Jews for being removed the words *à ligno*. Tertullian (*Adv. Marc.* cap. xix.) says: "Age nunc, si legisti penes David (Ps. xcvi. 10), Dominus regnavit a ligno;" also, *Adv. Jud.* cap. x. The reading appears to be recognised in the Epistle attributed to Barnabas. Copies of the old Itala have it. The famous hymns of Venantius Fortunatus (sixth century), *Vexilla regis* prodecent, has the verse:

Impleta sunt quæ concinit
David fideli carmine,
Dicens in nationibus
Regnavit *à ligno* Deus.

The probability seems to be, that the words were originally an annotation in the margin; and thence, by some copyists, transferred into the text. No present edition of the Septuagint or Vulgate retains them.

Edward von Wietersheim in an essay on the Population of the Roman Empire, in the times of the Emperors, after very careful examination, makes it to consist of 17 to 20,000,000 freemen and 20,000,000 slaves. In Europe Rome ruled over 45,000,000 (11 in Italy, 12 in Gaul, 9 in Iberia, etc.); in Asia 27 to 28,000,000; in Africa, 16 to 18,000,000—in all 88 to 91,000,000. The population of the city of Rome he makes to be only about one and a half millions; much lower than the usual estimates.

The Vulgate. Vercellone has published, dedicated to the Pope, the first part (Pentateuch) of a work on the text and various readings of the Vulgate; *Variae Lectiones Vulgatæ Latinæ Bibliorum* editionis. He has used some of the oldest, and hitherto not used, original documents of the Vatican library, besides collating the best editions.

By appointment of the Synod of the Canton de Vaud, Rev. J. F. Astié, Prof. in Lausanne, has prepared a work on the Religious Revival in the United States, 1857-58, making free of various works, especially Dr. Prime's *Power of Prayer*, and adapting the narrative to the wants of the French churches.

Stanislas Julien, member of the Institute, has published two works of interest for oriental and general literature. The first is *Indian Tales and Apologues*, with Chinese Fables and Poems, in two vols.: these have been until now unknown. The other is a collection of Chinese Novels in one volume. M. A. Morel has made an alphabetical collection of the Thoughts, Sentences and Proverbs of Oriental Moralists, in one volume. They are all published by Hachette.

Hoffman Von Fallersleben, who is now on an archæological exploration in Berlin, has discovered, in the library there, a manuscript of a Dutch version of the Canticles of Solomon of the thirteenth century.

Another contribution to the History of Port Royal is under way, Volume I. of *Port Royal, a Contribution to the History of Religion and Literature of France*, is announced by Longman, of London. The author is Mr. Charles Beard, B.A.

Two books, specially interesting, are about to be published at Milan; the first of these comprises the political and economical works of Count Camillo Benso di Cavour; the second, written by Cardinal Buoncompagni, is entitled "*Considerazioni sull' Italia Centrale*."

A model of the sculptures of Eleusis, which were discovered while digging the foundation of a school-house at that ancient city, is attracting great attention at the Académie des Beaux Arts, in Paris. These sculptures are evidently the remains of the temple of Triptolemus. Only three personages have as yet been discovered. The bas-relief, of which they form the subject, is supposed to have been the frontispiece of the temple. Ceres is bestowing on Triptolemus the grain destined to spring up in the plain of Rharius, that sacred field where the first seed was sown, and where the first fruit was gathered. Nothing can be more graceful than the figure of Triptolemus, just verging into manhood, and combining the bashfulness of youth with the determination not to shrink from the obligation of homage to the goddess, which her bounty has bestowed upon him. While extending one hand to receive the sacred deposit, he gathers up with the other the folds of his dress with a gesture so graceful and full of dignity, that every artist who beholds turns away in despair. Proserpine, meanwhile, standing behind the youth places her hand upon his head to bestow upon him the mystical gift of genius, and completes the group. In spite of the enormous sums offered by the French Government, as well as by King Otho, the "municipal authorities" of Eleusis refused to allow these pieces to be removed.

Mr. Graham, an Englishman, who has lately been travelling in the East, has made some antiquarian discoveries of the highest interest in the Great Desert beyond the river Jordan. He recently read a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society. He found, far to the east of the district of the Hauran, and in a region unvisited before by any European traveller, five ancient towns, all as perfect as if the inhabitants had just left them—the houses retaining the massive stone doors which are a characteristic of the architecture of that region. One of the cities is remarkable for a large building like a castle, built of white stone, beautifully cut. Further eastward, other places were found where every stone was covered with inscriptions in an unknown character, bearing some apparent likeness to the Greek alphabet, but probably referable to the ancient Hamyaritic alphabet, formerly in use in

Southern Arabia. Copies and impressions of several inscriptions are presented, and will, no doubt, engage the attention of Orientalists.

The Russian Government have to defray the cost of printing the MS. Bible discovered by Prof. Tischendorf in the monastery on Mount Sinai. The Prof. fixes its date in the early part of the fourth century. His views on the subject have already given rise to a lively controversy, in which, however, he has come off victorious. The MS. is the oldest one of the Bible now existing, and as a means of determining the text of the sacred writings, is far more important than even the manuscript of the Vatican—the latter lacking five books entire, and part of the sixth. Prof. T. has already published ten volumes of Bible documents, and his authority in such matters is of importance. The present edition will be profusely illustrated with facsimiles, and no pains will be spared to render it a worthy monument of imperial munificence.

The Chinese have a Tribunal of History which is composed of two classes of historians; one charged to write an account of what takes place out of the Imperial palace, that is, of affairs in general; and the other of what takes place in the palace, that is, of the sayings and doings of the Emperor, his ministers and great officers. Each of the members of the tribunal writes down all that he learns, signs it, and without communicating the document to his colleagues, throws it into a large box placed in the centre of the council-room.

FRANCE.

The *Journal général de l'Instruction publique* contains an exposure of a fraud by Minoides Mynas, recently deceased, in selling to the custodian of the British Museum a MS. of the Fables of Babrius, which belonged to the French government. Boissonade's recent French edition of these Fables (123) was published from a poor copy, which had been substituted for the original. It turns out, too, that Mynas imposed on the British government also—selling them two MSS. of Babrius, one of which is a forgery of a second alleged collection (of 95 Fables), which have been edited by Cornwall Lewis.

A satire on the Papacy, attributed to Theodore de Beza, which had become excessively rare, has been republished in Paris by Gustave Revilliod: the last previous edition was in 1594, the first in 1561. It is entitled, *Comédie du Pape malade et tirant à la fin*. In a dramatic manner, it sets forth the conferences and machinations of the Pope with Satan, and other historical characters; professing to be a translation from the Arabic by Thrasibulus the Phenician. It is very doubtful whether Beza was its author.

Lacordaire has been elected to the French Academy by a large majority; but the imperial assent was delayed. In place of M. de Tocqueville, Ad. Garnier was chosen by one majority: Jules Simon was his competitor, and lost the place because Cousin refrained from voting for his disciple. A French literary journal says that "Cousin is always forgetful about his friends."

M. Mondot has published a *Histoire des Indiens des États Unis*, after the reports made to Congress: it is said to be a well executed work.

The Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres has issued the fourth volume of its Collection of the Historians of the Crusades, concluding the Chronicle of William of Tyre.

The Abbé Guettée, who so ably represented the views of the liberal (Gallican) school of French Catholics in his History of the Church in France,

has just published two volumes of a work on the History of the Jesuits, of solid merit, based on careful study of the sources. A third volume will complete it. He is also one of the leading contributors to a new weekly Journal, *L'Union Chrétienne*, of a kindred spirit to the *Observateur Catholique*, advocating Christian union and tolerance.

The French Bulletin Mensuel gives a list, of more than three pages, of books and pamphlets relating to the question of the Pope and the Congress. Among the authors are D'Azeglio, De Montalembert, Hippolyte Castille, Count Du Hamel, De Girardin, the Bishops of Arras, Orleans, Troyes, and Poitiers, Ponjoulat, Villemain, Lacordaire, etc.

The new Paris edition of the French version of Calvin's Psalms has been published by Meyrueis, in two volumes, 8vo. Among the works recently issued or announced in Paris are: the second volume of Baron de Bazancourt's Campaign in Italy, based on authentic documents; the third volume of Guizot's Memoirs; the seventeenth volume of Thiers' History of the Consulate and Empire; the first volume of Guizot's translation of Shakespeare; Amedée Thierry's Roman History in the fifth century; Maury's Magic and Astronomy in ancient and mediæval times; Ampère, Formation of the French Language; J. Hecher, Flamands et Wallons; Spinoza, Traité de Politique, first French version by J. G. Prat; H. Wallon, Jeanne d'Arc, two volumes, 8vo; J. W. Dargand, Histoire de la Liberté religieuse in France, four volumes, 12mo; Philosophorum Græcorum Fragmenta, ed. F. G. A. Mullach.

A complete edition of the works of Leibnitz is in the course of publication by Didot, Paris. It is edited by Count Foucher de Careil, who has published several volumes of Leibnitz's hitherto inedited works. From the royal library of Hanover a large number of manuscripts have been obtained. The whole work will make twenty-five volumes of six hundred pages each. The first volume contains the famous correspondence between Leibnitz, Bossuet and others, on a projected reünion of Protestants and Catholics.

A continuation of Guizot's works on English History is promised, extending to the close of the reign of Charles II., including extracts from the despatches of the French Ambassador in London.

- Hector Bossange & Son, Paris, whose relations with American book-buyers and libraries are so extensive, are preparing a comprehensive and systematic catalogue of French books, to be entitled: *The Last Ten Years of French Literature*. It will form a volume of not less than one thousand pages, in large octavo double columns, and will contain the titles of about 30,000 books, the names of their respective publishers, the dates of their publication and prices, concluding with an index of authors' names. The price is twenty francs. Bossange & Co. also publish a *Bulletin Bibliographique*, which gives a full list of all current publications in France.

It is reported that the Emperor Napoleon is about to appoint a commission to inquire into the subject of literary property. French writers of authority have decided in favor of perpetuity of copyright. If the question should be decided in this sense, all translations of French books afterwards published under the convention will be copyright forever, or until the law is changed.

The Congress of delegates of learned Societies will be held this year at Paris, on the 9th of April, in the Rue Bonaparte, as usual. The Congrès Scientifique de France will be held at Cherbourg on the 2d September.

The Univers, suppressed in Paris, will in future be published in Brussels.

A curious work illustrative of the Life of à Becket has been published at Paris by Prof. C. Hippeau of Caen, namely, *La Viè de Saint Thomas le Martyr*, Archevêque de Canterbury, par Garnier de Pont Saint Mayence :

the author was a poet of the 12th century. This work is a poem, and is now issued for the first time. The introduction by the editor is full of matters of interest connected with the life and times of the archbishop.

The Revue des deux Mondes for February 1st has an article by M. Chas. de Remusat, member of the French Academy, on Natural Theology in England, reviewing the Burnett prize Essays, and also Mr. Mansel's *Limits of Religious Thought*. Of this he says, that if Mr. Mansel "is faithful to his philosophy, he ought to be a sceptic;" that the work "is an imitation for a Christian of the respectable subterfuge, by which Kant, to save religion, reduced it to morality;" that "going to the foundation of the book, we arrive at doubt instead of truth." M. de Remusat has made the modern German systems a special subject of study, and is the author of some of the best Reports presented to the Academy upon memoirs on these subjects. Far from adopting the principles of the transcendental philosophy, he yet will not deny to reason all positive and valid utterances upon the highest subjects of thought.

GERMANY.

A new edition of the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius has been begun by Hugo Laemmer, who lately went over to the Catholic church. The first Fasciculus, of 148 pages, contains the Introduction and specimens of seven codices. He has made use of all the MSS. at command. The previous critical editions are those of Rob. Stephanus, 1544; of Valesius, 1659; of F. A. Stroth, 1779; and of Dr. Burton, 1838.

T. G. Krabinger continues his edition of Cyprian's works in a volume (Tübingen) containing the *Libri ad Donatum, de Dominica Oratione*, etc. This edition is based on a collection of manuscripts.

Bunsen's Bible-Work is severely reviewed by E. Naegelsbach, in Reuter's *Repertorium* for January, exposing its vagueness and pantheistic tendencies, while conceding its ability and learning.

In the *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theologie*, Heft I. 1860, A. von Gutschmidt discusses the character of the apocryphal Apocalypse of Ezra, in relation to the criticisms of Lücke, Noack and Hilgenfeld; he assigns about 31 B.C. as the time of its composition. The only other article of this number is by Ernst Klussmann, on the Latest Criticism of the Text of Tertullian, chiefly in reference to the edition of Oehler, 3 vols. 1851-4.

The Roman Catholic *Theologische Quartalschrift*, Heft IV. 1859, has Erasmus and his Theological Standpoint, by Kerker; Aberle on the Object of the Gospel of Matthew (to refute the objections of the Sanhedrim, and not to give a chronological narrative); Nolte, *Patristic Analecta*, gives additions from MS. sources to Eusebius' oration *De Laudibus Constantini*, etc. Dr. Baumüller reviews Brugsch's *Geography of Ancient Egypt*. In an Appendix is given in full the text and a German translation of the recent concordat of Baden with the Pope.

The same Quarterly, Heft I, 1860, has a long article on the Shepherd of Hermas, by Professor Hageman; a critical examination of the Messianic Prophecies in the Pentateuch, by Prof. Himpel; an account of the acts of the Provincial Council of Vienna in 1858 (the first for nearly 300 years), by Prof. Hefe; and an examination of the *Oratio ad Graecos*, often ascribed to Justin Martyr, but denied to be his, by Dr. Nolte.

The *Zeitschrift f. Lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, 1860, Heft. I. contains a treatise on the Protestant Canon Law of the Eighteenth Century, by

Dr. Johannes Merkel; a thorough examination of Baumgarten's Christological views, by Prof. A. G. Rudelbach; an account of Attempts at Union between Lutherans and Calvinists, since the Augsburg Religious Peace, by C. F. Göschel: with a full Bibliography.

The *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Heft II. 1860, begins with a long article of 120 pages by Rothe, continuing his examination of the question of Inspiration, resolving the specific inspiration of the Scriptures into a divine illumination of such a character that errors of detail are consistent with it. Buttmann gives a valuable series of critical comparisons of the Codex Vaticanus B (No. 1209) with the received text of the New Testament: he made this codex the basis of his edition of the New Testament, 1856. Bodemeyer reviews Keim's Doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Zyro explains Matthew 11:12 in a spiritual sense. Holtzmann, in an article on the Idea and Contents of Introductions to the Bible, contends ably that the unity of this department of theology is found only in viewing it as the Science of the Canon of Scripture.

The *Zeitschrift f. d. historische Theologie*, Heft II. 1860, contains a contribution to the religious history of the Orient by Prof. Diestel of Bonn, on Set-Typhon, Asahel (Azazel) and Satan, their relation to each other, and in respect to the Egyptian god Typhon giving a very full historical sketch. Rudolf Baxmann on the Philosophumena (of Hippolytus) and the Perates, first gives an account of the discussion as to the authorship of the Philosophumena; and then considers particularly what it narrates about the opinions of the Perates (transcendentalists), a Gnostic sect, of the Ophite branch of these philosophical mystics. Hochhuth continues his learned investigations into the early history of Anabaptism in Hesse. F. Nitzsch discusses Marcion and the two last chapters of the Epistle to the Romans—showing, against the school of Tübingen, that Marcion did not reject these chapters, but arbitrarily omitted parts of them. W. Klose brings together the facts about the personal history of Jacobus Spreng (Probst) for forty years pastor in Bremen in the Reformation century. G. Bickell, from a MS. of the twelfth or thirteenth century, communicates some fragments of a commentary on the Athanasian creed.

The *Zeitschrift für Philosophie u. philosophische Kritik*, Bd. 36, Heft I. 1860, has an essay by Ch. H. Weisse on the Limits of Mechanical Principles in the Study of Nature; an able metaphysical discussion, by A. Zeising, on the Fundamental Forms of Thought in Relation to the Fundamental Forms of Being; an estimate of Socrates as a Philosopher, by the Prelate, G. Mehring; and a translation, with the original, of an old and little known Life of Spinoza (in Dutch, 1705), with full and curious bibliographical and biographical notices.

The second edition of Dr. C. P. Caspari's Arabic Grammar has been published in German (Leipsic, C. L. Fritzsche, 8vo, pp. 24, 418): the edition issued ten years since was in Latin. It is said to be much improved, and the best aid now offered to Arabic scholars, superior to the older grammars of Michaelis and Jahn, and an anonymous one published at Ratisbon in 1854. In Holland there was also published, in 1858, a second edition of the *Grammatica Arabica*, of T. Roorda.

An edition of the Babylonian Talmud is in the course of publication at Warsaw, by S. Orgelbrand. The second volume, medium folio, has been published at 2½ thalers. The whole work will be in twenty volumes, at the cost of fifty thalers.

An important work, illustrative of the Arabian dominion in Spain in the fourteenth century, has been issued at Leyden: *Analectes sur l'histoire et la*

litterature des Arabes d'Espagne, par Al-Makkari; vol. II., edited by Gust. Dugat, pp. 835, 4to

Private Correspondence of Humboldt.—The great literary novelty of the day in Germany is a volume of "Letters from Alexander Von Humboldt to Varnhagen Von Ense," published by Brockhaus, of Leipzig, and edited by a Mdle. Assing, a niece of Varnhagen's, amongst whose papers these letters were found. They contain many satirical things on the King of Prussia, General Von Gerlach, and other heroes of the Kreuzzeitung party, with numerous remarks tending to throw ridicule on the hyper-pietists of Prussia. The police prohibited the book in the Prussian dominions, but the Prince Regent, as soon as the obnoxious police measure was made known to him, sent an order to withdraw the prohibition. It was at first the general impression that these letters were of a scientific nature, but a rapid reading of the work is enough to refute that idea. The fact is, this correspondence was never intended, either by the writer or receiver, for publication. It is reported that the editress received from the firm of Messrs. Brockhaus, of Leipzig, \$3000 for the manuscripts and copyright. There has been a great want of judgment somewhere to allow of the publication of 250 private letters extending over a period of thirty years, and commenting in the freest manner on passing events and private conversations with illustrious and distinguished personages.

Since the decease of Von Hammer of Vienna, German scholars have begun to criticise more freely his translations from the Arabic. It has long been well understood that the accuracy of his scholarship was not at all equal to its extent. We recollect more than twenty years since hearing Dr. Eli Smith make some severe comments upon the gross blunders in the text and translation of several of his editions of Arabic works. A young German scholar of great promise, W. Ahlwardt, of the university of Griefswald, has recently published a work, *Chalef elahmar's Quasside*, with a corrected text, a translation and commentary, including a comparison with Von Hammer's edition, showing its deficiencies.

The seventh and last volume of the second edition of Ewald's History of the People of Israel is published, with a Register to all the volumes and to the Archæology. The price of the whole is 17½ dollars.

It is announced that the large work of Lepsius, on the Monuments, begun twelve years ago, is completed. This work embraces an account of the author's travels and researches in Egypt and Nubia, and forms twelve folio volumes of plates and maps, all executed in the finest style, at the expense of the King of Prussia, by whom the expedition was organized. After Champollion and Rosellini had completed their labors, the king was induced to undertake the work through the instrumentality of Humboldt. The knowledge possessed by Lepsius of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and the interest they have excited throughout the world, will add greatly to the attractions of the work.

An elegant edition of the complete works of Kepler is now being issued at Frankfort, under the editorship of Charles Frisch. It is to be in 16 vols. 8vo, about half of which number is already published. It is a fact not generally known that twenty folio volumes of Kepler's unpublished MSS. lie in the library at St. Petersburg. These Euler, Lexell and Kraft undertook to examine and publish, but the result of this examination has never appeared. The recent researches of Baron von Breitschwert (*Kepler's Leben und Werke*) show that, in the midst of his most sublime labors, Kepler spent five years in the defence of his poor old mother against a charge of witchcraft, and only by prolonged intercession did he succeed in saving her from fire and faggot!

Tauchnitz, of Leipzig, has added to his copyright collection of British authors vols. 1 and 2 of "The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson."

The Hanover journals state that M. Hermann, the Hanoverian consul at Tripoli, has informed the family of Dr. Vogel, the celebrated African traveller, that he had learned the doctor had certainly been assassinated in the Kingdom of Wadny, and that as the intelligence was communicated by the Sultan of Bornou, he unhappily entertained no doubt of its truth.

In Austria, before the recent cession of Lombardy, there were 10 Universities, namely, Vienna, Prague, Pesth, Pavia, Padua, Cracow, Lemberg, Innsbrück, Grätz, and Olmütz; 282 gymnasia; and 20,000 people's schools. The political journals numbered 97: 58 in German, 10 in Slavonic, 19 in Italian, 8 in Hungarian, 2 in Romain, and 1 in Greek. The non-political journals, 257: 125 German, 21 Slavonic, 89 Italian, 20 Hungarian, 1 French, 1 Russian. The Romish ecclesiastics numbered 70,000, double the number to which Joseph II. reduced them. The population comprises 29,000,000 Romanists, 3,000,000 Protestants, nearly 3,000,000 Greeks, and 850,000 Jews. The German population is 8,000,000; Slavonian, 15,000,000; Magyar, 4,800,000. The taxation has increased 70 per cent since 1848: it was 62 millions of florins in 1847, and 160 millions in 1856.—*North British Review*.

ITALY.

The Jubilee of Dante will occur in 1865, and preparations have already been made for its celebration. Professor Scaramuzza, of Parma, has been promised aid by the government to the amount of 1500 francs, for completing at that time his Illustrations of the Divine Comedy. A new work on the subject of Dante has just appeared at Florence. It was discovered in the collections of the Vatican, and consists of Dialogues written by Donato Giannotti, the friend and literary adviser of Dante. In these dialogues the author and his friend are represented discussing various important political questions *apropos* of the "Divina Comedia."

The house of Michael Angelo Buonarroti, in the Via Ghibellina, Florence, has been given to the city by one of his descendants, Buonarroti. It contains a large collection of works of art; and also unpublished MSS. of the great artist. To silence the opposition of the heirs to this legacy, the Tuscan government has voted them the sum of 22,000 francs.

In the archives of Modena have been found three volumes of unpublished letters of Torquato Tasso, and also letters addressed to him by a lady, Donna Coccapani Bendidio, wrongly ascribed to the Princess Leonora.

Prof. Mancini of Turin is bringing out a new edition of the works of Gianone, the historian of Naples, who died in prison in 1748; these contain commentaries on Livy, an account of the Church under Gregory the Great, and an essay on the Moral and Theological Doctrines of the Fathers of the Church.

The posthumous works of Gioberti have already reached seven volumes, and others are promised. Ugolino of Florence has recently published a collection of Thoughts and Opinions of Gioberti on literary matters.

Count Terenzio Mamiani, distinguished as a poet, orator and philosopher, a refugee in Piedmont, has been appointed by the Sardinian government to a chair of Law and the Philosophy of History; the professorship has been made expressly for him. He has recently published a work on the New International Law, which is highly praised.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The department of the library of the British Museum devoted to Hebrew Literature numbers more than 8000 volumes, being one of the most complete collections known. An account of it has been published in Berlin by Joseph Ledner.

Cosmo Innes, Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh, has published a "History of Scotland in the Middle Ages," with maps illustrating its civil and ecclesiastical divisions.

The Prefaces and Introductions to the earliest printed editions of the Greek and Latin classics are to be published by Bohn (at £5 5), edited by Beriah Botfield, member of Parliament.

There are now 1041 newspapers published in Great Britain and Ireland; in England, 734; Wales, 25; Scotland, 138; Ireland, 129; the British Isles, 15. Of these 51 are daily, 34 of these being issued in England. In 1850 the number of newspapers was 443; in 1840 it was 472.

The Essays which Lord Macaulay contributed to Knight's Quarterly Magazine, and those in the Edinburgh Review not contained in the current collection of his Essays, with his fugitive poetry, are to be published. Only fragments of the 5th volume of his History of England were prepared for the press, and even these will not be issued for some time.

Isaac Taylor is employed upon a work on "Ultimate Civilization."

Panizzi's report on the British Museum for the year ending March, 1859, gives the total expense at £73,500; of which £35,004 were for librarians, custodians, etc.; £19,830 for books and antiquities; £13,116 for binding, etc. The library was increased by 32,152 volumes. The number of readers was 127,103, a mean of 424 a day; visitors, 519,565; books consulted, 877,897, or 3,044 per day, an average of 7 to each reader.

Cousin's last volume on Madame de Longueville during the Fronde is severely criticised; the wits of Paris are very merry about the gallantry which the Professor of Philosophy shows to the coquettes of the seventeenth century.

The *North British Review* for February has an article on the Silence of Scripture, which brings out some interesting aspects of this fruitful theme, in relation to the Nativity of Christ; the observance of Festivals; the Infancy and Youth of our Lord; the Personal appearance of Christ, etc. Other valuable articles are on Erasmus as a Satirist; Austria; Wilkinson on Form and Color; Wesleyan Methodism; Ceylon and the Singhalese, etc. We are glad to see a cordial recognition of the eminent service rendered to geological science by Dr. Hitchcock, of Amherst College, in his *Ichnology of New England*.

The *Eclectic* (London) for March has a long review of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, dissenting wholly from the author's conclusion, asserting that they are founded on altogether insufficient data. "His theory cannot account for the origin of new and complex organs, and elaborate instincts: there is an entire lack of evidence as to change in species, no new organ has ever been known to have appeared. There is no evidence of the fine gradation of transitorious forms, or of the development of higher from lower forms, etc."

The *Christian Remembrancer* for January has articles on Young Quakerism, reciting its early vagaries; Virginia—the Old Dominion, chiefly in the colonial period and in church aspects; the Church Cause and Party, its history for twenty-five years; the Ambrosian Liturgy; L'Union Chrétienne; Realities of Paris Life; Revision of the Prayer-Book.

The *British and Foreign Evangelical Review* for January republishes the article on the Theology of Edwards, as shown in his Treatise concerning Religious Affections, from our volume of last year. Its original articles are on Ballantyne's Christianity and Hindu Philosophy; the Geography of Palestine; Bayne's Christian Life, etc.

The *Journal of Sacred Literature* for January, on the True Reading and Correct Interpretation of Psalm xl, 6, proposes an emendation of the text, reading "a victim of expiation," instead of "mine ears;" in Hebrew the substitution would be of *aschem* for *aznim*. The second article on the Sacred Slaves of Israel in Hivitia, Mount Se'yr, and the Hivite Tetrapolis embodies much valuable research. The next, on Ancient and Modern Church Commentaries, is from the Quarterly Church Review of the United States. Theories of Biblical Chronology discusses the diverging systems of Franke Parker, B. W. Savile, Bosanquet and others. The remaining articles are on the Emblems of St. John, in Apocalypse, chapter xii, and on Recent Syriac Literature. The last presents an interesting account of late publications from Syriac MSS. One is by Prof. Launy of the University of Louvain, a Dissertation on the faith of the Syrian Christians about the Eucharist, to which are added the Resolutions Canonice of John of Tela, and of Jacob of Edessa. The passages cited favor a mystical presence of Christ in the eucharist but not the dogma of transubstantiation. R. G. F. Shröter has published the Scholia of Gregory Bar Hebraeus on Psalms viii, xl, xli and l, with a Latin version and notes. T. S. Rördan has issued at Copenhagen the first chapters of Judges from Syriac MSS. in the Museum, and promises Judges and Ruth; this version is ascribed to John of Tela. Some MSS. in the imperial library of Paris have been lithographed, containing accounts of the Council of Nice; and a MS. in the British Museum furnishes further extracts from translations of Ignatius into Syriac; a part of the latter are undoubtedly spurious.

The indefatigable Antiquarian Dr. S. R. Maitland has exhumed from the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth, "A Supplication for Toleration, addressed to King James I, by some of the late silenced and deprived Ministers and People consenting in judgment with them. A.D. 1609. Now reprinted with the King's (hitherto unpublished) Notes." 4to, pp. 48.

The third volume of Mr. Thos. Greenwood's *Cathedra Petri* continues the political history of the Great Latin Patriarchate from the middle of the ninth to the close of the tenth century. It professes to be written from a purely historical point of view.

Among the new theological works announced in England, are the second volume of Horne's Introduction, a new edition by Rev. John Ayre; W. H. Hoare, the Veracity of Genesis; Westcott, Introduction to the Gospels; Canticum Canticorum, from the Scriverius copy in the British Museum, edited by F. Ph. Berjeau, 30 shillings; Hengstenberg on Ecclesiastes, and Essays, in Clark's Library; J. R. Beard, The Confessional; Pre-Adamite Man; J. M. Neale, Comm. on Psalms (i to xviii), from ancient and mediæval sources.

In History are announced: Bunsen's Egypt, vol. iv; Buckle's Civilization, vol. 2; Froude's Edward VI, and Mary, vols. 5 and 6; Massy's England under George III, vol. 3; Martha Walker Freer, Reign of Henry IV of France, from MS. etc. 2 vols. 8vo; Ch. Hoffman, Christianity in the First Century, translated from the German; a new edition by Rob. Hussey of Sozomen's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3 vols. 8vo.

The *Westminster Review* for January has a long article on Christian Revivals, reviewing the matter historically, and in the light of the recent

awakenings in Ireland and America. It sees in these revivals from its naturalistic standpoint, only excited imagination, hysteria and bodily convulsions. This is about as philosophical, as if one should find in an advancing civilization only an increase in nervous disorders. It takes the accidental physical effects as the substance of the whole matter. The main condition of the Revival, it says, are: (1) ignorance; (2) freedom from doctrinal and disciplinary restraint that the laity may coöperate; (3) an inactive intellect, excited imagination and emotions, and appeals to fear. Some of these elements are undoubtedly to be found in the religious movements referred to, but the observer who sees only these things, knows nothing about the real causes and the permanent and salutary effects of those spiritual quickenings which are necessary, just in proportion to the prevalence of ignorance and superstition.

The death of Sir W. C. Ross, says the *Critic*, leaves a third vacancy in the Royal Academy to be filled up. It is not improbable that the chair of the great miniature painter will be filled by Mr. Thorburn.

Hunt's long-expected work, *The Finding of Christ in the Temple*, will be placed before the public in April next. The splendor and solidity of the mere workmanship, says the *Athenæum*, are rare amongst us; its dramatic power second to none; and the long study of authorities for costume and accessories, much of which was made in the East, where manners and customs remained unchanged for ages, has enabled Mr. Hunt to create a work, exemplifying his own ideal of art.

Seeley, Jackson & Halliday, of London, correct the report that the Queen of Sweden has been writing a work called *The Workmen in the Lord's Vineyard*. Jane Ann Winscombe, an English lady, was the authoress, and the royal personage in question translated it into the Swedish language.

A PENNY SHAKESPEARE is among the latest English literary enterprises—well-printed copies of the plays being furnished at this small charge. It will probably be very successful, like the two-penny Waverley Novels, of which, up to 1858, twelve million sheets had been sold, weighing upward of three hundred and thirty-five tons.

Part V. of Lowndes' *Bibliographical Manual of English Literature* has been published by Bohn. This new edition of this important work is an improvement on former editions, while the price is greatly reduced.

A beautiful edition of the Greek Septuagint has lately been published by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, edited by Professor Field, of Trinity College, Cambridge. Though primarily intended for circulation among the Eastern churches, it furnishes to students what was greatly wanted, a critical and beautiful text of this most ancient version, conformed to the order of the Hebrew original, in one handsome octavo volume, at a moderate price.

Mr. Thomas Wright, the well-known and accomplished archæologist and historian, is engaged on a work on the Celt, the Roman and Saxon in Britain, down to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity.

The Messrs. Blackwood have in press the late Sir William Hamilton's *Lectures on Logic*. They are to be in two volumes, and edited by Rev. Mr. Mansel (of Bampton Lectures celebrity, and Mr. John Veitch. They will be reproduced here from advanced sheets by Messrs. Gould & Lincoln.

Lord Brougham, now eighty years of age, is writing a *History of the British Constitution*.

Hensleigh Wedgwood's *Dictionary of English Etymology*, vol. I, A-D, is based on the principle that words are made to imitate sounds characteristic of the objects designated. It is said to be a learned and ingenious work.

A new translation of Gregory's History of the Franks (573-594,) has been begun by Henri Bordier; the first volume contains the Life of Gregory by Odon, abbot of Cluguy.

Professor Owen has in the press Palæontology, or a Systematic Summary of Extinct Animals and their Geological Relations. He is also the editor of Dr. John Hunter's works, including unpublished manuscripts.

Sampson Low & Son, of London, have in preparation a new work, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, who has been spending the winter in Florence.

Brownists. A correspondent of the *Notes and Queries* (Feb. 25, '60), gives an account of a visit to the parish of Achurch, in Northamptonshire, the living held by Robert Browne, the founder of the sect. He inspected the registers, which from the beginning were carefully kept and signed by Browne himself, dating from January 1591-2. The last entry by him is of May 21, 1631; though there is an interval from 1617 to 1621, in which the register is kept by others. One of the entries reads: "November 7, 1631. A child of my ungracious Godsonne Robert Green baptized else were in schisme." In 1627: "A child of Edmund Quincy baptized elsewhere, and not in our Parish Church. "It is from this stock," adds the writer of the communication, "that Quincy Adams, the American statesman, was descended."

UNITED STATES.

Dr. Addison Alexander's Commentary on Matthew, partly completed, will be published by Mr. Scribner: also a selection of his articles in the Princeton Review and other works.

The Astor Library, N. Y., now contains 110,000 volumes. The average number used each day is 210. Expended for books the past year, \$13,898. The value of the library and buildings is about \$650,000.

Little, Brown & Co., of Boston, are preparing for publication a volume which will be of great interest to naturalists and geologists. It will contain photo-lithographic prints of the most remarkable of the fossil foot-prints of the Connecticut valley collected by the late Dr. Deane, of Greenfield.

Pudney & Russell, of New-York, have issued the prospectus of a new literary and critical Review, to be called the National Quarterly Review.

A translation of a work on Hindu Astronomy is in the New Haven Press, under the care of the Committee of Publication for the Oriental Society.

Smith & English, of Philadelphia, announce Fleming's Vocabulary of Philosophy, Farrar's Science in Theology, and Hengstenberg on Ecclesiastes.

Dr. Peck is superintending the publication of his new work, embracing historical sketches of early Methodism within the bounds of the Genesee Conference. The book covers a period of forty years, and contains sketches of interesting localities and prominent actors during that period.

Dr. Worcester's New English Dictionary has met with a careful critic in *The London Literary Gazette*, who, guided by well-understood principles, says that "the conditions of a good dictionary have been complied with, and realized in it to the fullest extent;" and that he has arisen from the task of examination "with feelings of no ordinary satisfaction at the result, and admiration of the care, scholarship, philosophical method, and honest fidelity of which this noble work bears the impress on every page."

Sheldon & Co. have in press Hagenbach's History of Christian Doctrine, a new and revised edition, edited by Prof. H. B. Smith, of Union Theological Seminary. Also a Comprehensive Dictionary of English Synonyms, by Wm. Carpenter. And Wedgwood's Dictionary of English Etymology, edited by Hon. G. P. Marsh, with large additions.

Literary and Critical Notices of Books.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

La Reformation en France pendant la première Période. Par HENRI LUTTEROTH: Paris, 1859.

Among the various works called forth by the recent third centennial jubilee of the French Reformation, this of M. Lutteroth has the highest literary and philosophical character. Its author is one of the most distinguished laymen of the French Protestant Independents. As chief editor of that long-established journal, *Le Semeur*, and as a zealous and indefatigable defender of absolute religious liberty, and of the separation of church and state, Mr. Lutteroth has rendered very great services to the cause of ecclesiastical progress, to what is called in Europe, American *régime*. He was, then, naturally selected by the free churches of France to write an essay upon the first days of the Reformation, and has accomplished his task with remarkable care and great historical tact.

In spite of rivers of Huguenot blood, the Reformation was established in France. "Like those fires upon the mountains," says the author (page 89), "which are to be used as signals, the fires at the stakes kindled each other, and by their light you might have gone around France from parliament to parliament, almost from city to city."

This bloody period, which extends to the Conference at Poissy (1561), and the first edict of pacification (January), is the heroic age of French Protestantism. Yet undefiled by political interests, the Reformation was, for those who embraced it, above all a work of regeneration and conversion. Hence the remarkable fact that the Protestants, to whom the right of life was refused, did not shed a drop of blood during these evil days. The death of Michael Servetus (Oct. 26th, 1553) is the only exception; and our author shows that this resulted from a principle generally admitted by all Protestants of the sixteenth century, that the magistrate was to punish heretics. But what is less known, this fatal doctrine gave rise to energetic protestations even in the sixteenth century. Here are the important passages which Mr. Lutteroth borrows from the writings of Castellio against Calvin: *Contra libellum Calvini in quo ostendere conatur Hæreticos jure gladii coercendas esse* (1554, art. 77). "To kill a man does not protect a doctrine; it is only killing a man. To support a doctrine is not the business of a magistrate; (for what connection is there between a doctrine and the sword?) it is the business of the theologian. But the magistrate must protect the theologian as well as the farmer, the workman, the physician, and others, against any wrong which threatens them. If, therefore, Servetus had wanted to kill Calvin, the magistrate would have done right to defend Calvin. But Servetus had fought with arguments and writings, and ought to have been rebuked by arguments and writings."

For want of close consideration of the facts, historians have often said that France was preserved from the odious tribunal of inquisition by the firmness of the Parliament of Paris. Mr. Lutteroth proves, on the contrary, that tribunals of the Holy Office were established and in operation in France. French magistrates could only protest.

Calvin is generally considered as the author of the *Confession de foi des églises de France*. Our author shows that this assertion cannot be proved. This confession of faith, as a natural expression of the great religious movement in France, has the great merit of being an anonymous work. When this confession was to be signed at the Synod of Paris (May 29th, 1559), this courageous assembly, though under persecution, was not willing, on that solemn occasion, to shut the door to the people of the Church, although such an unusual number of persons must attract the attention of the persecutors.

The Conference of Poissy, which put an end to the essentially religious period of French Protestantism, is thus characterized by Mr. Lutteroth: "The Conference of Poissy, the first, and happily also the last, attempt made in France to reform the church with the assistance of the state, is, from the modern Protestant point of view, an absurdity, (*un non-sens ou un contre-sens*.) Even from the ancient Protestant point of view it cannot be explained by the historical development of the Reformation in France: one might believe himself transported into Germany, that classical land of religious disputes; or to Geneva, where Calvin used the civil power to consecrate the Reformation of the church. Nothing like, or at all resembling it, had yet taken place in our country." (Page 227.)

The only result of the Conference of Poissy was to show how impossible it was to agree, and that it was consequently necessary to renew persecution, or to proclaim loudly that persecution was at an end. At the end of this bloody period, the pastor Chandieu had the right to pronounce these solemn words: "Persecutions have given us the experience of all the promises of God. They have showed us all the solicitude he has for his children, so that to-day we glory in the hope of all these things, not only because we have heard them from the Word of God, but because we have experienced them in our adversities."

About the year 1561, there were in France 2150 organized churches, i. e. having pastors, elders, deacons sometimes, and a beginning of discipline for the conduct of the flock, the keeping up of a right spirit of union, and the repression of scandals. There were, besides, many churches in process of formation. Before the Synod of 1559, the number of organized churches was, at most, between forty and fifty.

The religious liberty promised at the termination of the Conference of Poissy was but a truce between two battles. Soon "two parties in the midst of one nation were confronting each other; two parties, we say, and not two religions. We no longer find the men who took counsel of the gospel and their conscience only, but compact masses without personal convictions, which, in every country and in all times, compose the bulk of the nations; and which, in their fanaticism, are so much more to be feared because, without thinking themselves, they hold the opinions of those whose service they have embraced. Divided into two camps, they will instinctively feel that a certain union is necessary for them; but they will ignore the fact that it can be obtained only by the free exchange of thoughts. Instead of seeking to become assimilated by frank communications, they will combat each other arms in hand; but the uselessness of the struggle will draw them together in the end."

"During this second period, which ends with the Valois, the influence of the Reformation continued to make itself felt; but it was different — more social than individual, more noisy than serious. . . . The period then about to begin had not, therefore, the same kind of grandeur; but yet it had a true grandeur, to be seen, however, only at its termination. It was developed less in principles than in its results; it was marked by deliverances rather than by a spirit of devotion. (Page 232.) J. F. A.

Moralistes des seizième et dix-septième Siècles. Par A. VINET. Paris: 1849. Here is another precious volume, for which the numerous admirers of Vinet are indebted to the activity and pious zeal of the editors, who have it in charge to publish the posthumous works of this great Vaudois thinker. Critics find that the multiplication of posthumous volumes is in some respects a cause of regret; for they say with much reason, that if published by the author, they would have been much more complete. They fear that such publications will be prejudicial to the reputation of the master. But the public do not share these fears; they eagerly buy what is offered as coming from the pen of Vinet, and the editors, thus stimulated, increase the volumes and the editions.

Vinet was not only a brilliant and original defender of Christianity, a deep thinker, a Reformed theologian, and a spiritual orator of the first rank; he began his career as one of the most celebrated of literary critics, surpassing all others in this field, as well in all the subjects he touched. His name was an authority in literary circles even in Paris. Now he is better known and valued. We will give in evidence a fresh testimony, by the first writer of our times. Sainte-Beuve, in a new edition of his *Port Royal*, says, speaking of Vinet's opinion of his work: "It is a precious and dear approbation, even now my best reward." This new volume of Vinet is devoted to the moralists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is a work necessary for all wishing to study that part of French literature, so little known, even in France. Every body, indeed, speaks much of François Rabelais, Michel de Montaigne, Pierre Bayle; but few persons read them. Not only are their works not easily found, but to read the whole of them would not be of any great profit. It is then a great advantage in studying them to have a guide as competent and sure as Vinet.

The volume ends with two remarkable fragments on philosophical subjects: On the spontaneity of human mind in matters of philosophy; and on the will seeking its law. A few brief extracts will give an idea of the spirit of the book.

"The reaction of the ethical against the ritual, is the true fact of the Reformation, its glory, the title which belongs to it. It is true the Reformation was presented under a dogmatic light, because its principal fact is a dogma. Every thing in the Christian religion, is in the moral order; the divinity of Christ, redemption, all mysteries, are ethical. Their aim is the salvation and regeneration of man. And what is regeneration, if it is not moral? The Gospel alone, of all religions, penetrates into the pure intellectual region, but in proportion to the wants of the heart and of the life. There is no useless dogma, none there for itself; the exposition of divine truth ceases when those moral wants find satisfaction. . . . Human corruption alone was able, out of those vital elements, called mysteries, to make only speculations or formulas. By reestablishing the rights of morality in religion, the reformers reclaimed Christianity for the use of life." (P. 16 and 17.) "Scepticism arises either from the corruption of a political state, or the degradation of the philosophic mind." (P. 22.) "Though we do not doubt that special works on morality have an influence on the morals

of a nation, we yet think that the philosopher or moralist writes rather in the service of the people than in his own." . . . "Science is a solitude which keeps us from the influence of society. The literary man, on the contrary, is only what he should be, when he partakes of the social life." (P. 9.) "When nature has placed in the same man, a powerful soul, and a thinking mind, we must not expect, the soul to take the side of the mind against herself." "If life is strong, it will bring the thought under its control." . . . "Social theories as well as philosophy, are affected by what is spontaneous. They boast of beginning with examination of the nature of things, that is to say, the true relations of man with man, and of individuals with society. Nevertheless all facts are against that view. Pure speculation would never have found those theories nor even looked for them. They appeared in the world, only after facts required them. It is not in the nature of humanity to accept pure speculation before experience has made them respectable and clear." (P. 359.)

J. F. A.

History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. Condensed from the standard work of Reid and Killen. By Rev. SAMUEL D. ALEXANDER. New York: Carters. 1860. 12mo, pp. 376. This is a well-executed compilation from the valuable work of Dr. Reid, continued by Dr. Killen. The history of Irish Presbyterianism is one of peculiar interest, from its conflicts with a dominant Romanism in the mass of the Irish population, and an established episcopacy. It nobly maintained its ground, and formed in Ulster a population combining the best characteristics of the Irish and Scotch people. The narrative is brought down to the present times, including the eventful period of the struggle with Unitarianism. The number of the Protestants is said to be only one fifth of the whole population. This we suppose to be a very low estimate. This work, like all of Mr. Carter's publications, is issued in a good style; the addition of an Index or Table of Contents would increase the convenience of its use.

The Puritans: or the Church, Court and Parliament of England, during the reigns of Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth. By SAMUEL HOPKINS. Vol. II. Boston: Gould & Lincoln, 1860. 8vo, pp. 539. The second volume of this work is not inferior in interest to the first, and it is superior in its solid merits as a historical narrative. It is not wholly pruned from imaginary conversations; but the proportion of these is reduced, and the history is drawn with a firmer hand. The period traversed is from the Parliament of 1575-6 to that of 1584-5. The stirring scenes of this epoch, and its momentous contest for principles, are brought out in full relief. The character and acts of the archbishops Grindal and Whitgift, of Bishop Aylmer, of Elizabeth and Mary, the intrigues of the Jesuits, the beginning of Presbyterianism and Brownism, the revival and doings of the Court of High Commission, and the foreign relations as well as domestic conflicts of England, are described in such detail, that they might fatigue the ordinary reader were it not for the life-like character which is given to the persons and events. The investigations throughout are thorough. Among the points of theological interest is the evidence adduced to prove that the validity of Presbyterian ordination was recognized by the heads of the English Church; the initiation of Presbyterian discipline, in chap. 10, where the author shows that the Presbytery of Wandsworth was not a church, but a society of ministers; the rise and character of the early Brownists; the three articles of Whitgift; and a full account of the Court of High Commission in its relations to public law. This volume will increase the deserved reputation of the author, and gives abundant pledge that it will have the

success, which it so highly merits, as being at once a popular and thorough history of that great struggle, in which the foundations of our own civil and religious freedom were laid.

A Historical Discourse, delivered in Norwich, Conn., Sept. 7, 1859, at the Bi-centennial celebration of its Settlement. By DANIEL COIT GILMAN, Librarian of Yale College. Second edition, with Additional Notes. Boston, 1859, 8vo. The strong and God-fearing early settlers of Norwich are well commemorated in this valuable discourse, which is worthy of its subject. Norwich, from its first settlement, was strongly attached to the principle of self-government. Rev. James Fitch, its first minister, "was so thoroughly imbued with the principles of congregationalism [independency?] that at his ordination in Saybrook, the lay brethren laid hands upon him, although two ministers, Rev. Mr. Hooker and Rev. Mr. Stone, were present. The story of Uncas and the Mohegans imparts a romantic interest to the earlier annals. The college graduates, as given in the Appendix, number 200, of whom 70 are ministers, 5 Presidents, and 20 Professors of Colleges, 4 Senators, and 14 Representatives of the United States, etc. Note H contains the Covenant of the church as renewed in 1675. The provision for the catechising of "males who are eight or nine years of age" every Lord's Day "until they be about 13 years of age;" and for the continued instruction of both males and females from that age "to accustom them timely to the exercise of Church Discipline," and for their "excommunication" if they do not publicly profess religion, show the importance which was attached to the relation of children to the church. The sketches of Major John Mason and General Jabez Huntington, and other notable men, are well drawn. The Discourse is a valuable contribution to the religious as well as the civil history of Connecticut.

"*The Mountain Society :*" *A History of the First Presbyterian Church, Orange, N. J.* By JAMES HOYT, Pastor of the Church. New York : C. M. Saxton, Barker & Co. 12mo, pp. 281. 1860. Mr. Hoyt has done a good work in the preparation of this history. Every page bears the marks of careful and laborious research. A good taste and sound judgment have evidently governed him in the execution of the task. The history of this venerable church covers a period of 140 years, and is replete with stirring incidents and gracious manifestations. It has found a fitting writer in its present excellent Pastor. Such a history possesses more than a local interest ; it helps to furnish the materials for a general history of the Presbyterian Church. The example is worthy of being followed. New Jersey seems to be taking the lead in this important matter. The histories of a group of churches in this immediate region have already been written.

The History of the United States of America, from the Discovery of the Continent to the Close of the First Session of the Thirty-fifth Congress. By J. H. PATTON, A.M. Appleton & Co. 1860. 8vo. Pp. xvi, 806. This new History of the United States is intermediate between the elaborate works of Bancroft, Hildreth and others, and the ordinary school histories. The plan of the author is well conceived, and fitly carried out. It is a candid, well-digested, and, for its limits, comprehensive account of our national history, from the first settling of the Continent, to the Kansas contest of 1858. All the great influences, which have helped to form our character as a people, are recognized, and, in general, put in their proper relations. The religious and Christian elements are more emphasized than in many popular compends. The proportion of the parts, too, is well maintained.

The narrative is clear and simple; neither common-place nor rhetorical. So far as we have examined, it seems to us to be a valuable work, and one which fills a place hitherto left vacant. Every young man and young woman, too, would be benefited by its perusal, while it will also be instructive to many persons of an older growth. The later history has, of course, to do with struggles now in progress: and the author does not hide his own opinions, though he expresses them in an impartial manner. The volume is at once so compendious and full, and meets such a decided want, that it must attain a wide circulation. It is issued in excellent style.

Christ in History. By ROBERT TURNBULL, D.D. New and revised edition. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 12mo, pp. 540. 1860. The character of this work is already well-known. Taking the Incarnation as the central point in the history of mankind, it attempts to show how all the forces of society converge around it; how all preceding history prepares for it, and how all succeeding history dates from it. The author aims to show that the history of the world can be understood only with reference to Christ. And this is not assumed, but evolved by an exposition of historical facts. It is a work of decided ability, and sound in its teachings. This new edition has been thoroughly revised, and a more perfect form given to the work.

Life and Times of Gen. Sam Dale, the Mississippi Partisan. By J. F. H. CLAIBORNE. Illustrated by John McLennan. Harper & Brothers, 1860. This entertaining volume gives a genuine sketch of the life and adventures of such a frontier partisan as this country only could produce. The combination of such a daring, almost wild life, with a simple heart and religious belief, gives elements of a romantic interest.

The Life of Daniel Wilson, D.D., Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India. By JOSIAH BATEMAN, M.A., his son-in-law and first chaplain. With Portraits, Maps and Illustrations. Boston. Gould & Lincoln. 8vo, pp. 744. 1860. Mr. Bateman enjoyed every facility in the preparation of this Memoir, and he has discharged the duty devolved upon him with fidelity and thoroughness. It is an admirable portraiture of a remarkable and eminently useful man. Its bulk is its chief objection. A little more discrimination in the selection and compression in the arrangement of the materials furnished by his long, varied, and active life, would have added to its interest. But it is a noble and enduring monument to the piety, learning and labors of Bishop Wilson. It is deeply interesting and instructive to follow such a devoted and honored laborer step by step through all his career. His early religious experience was noteworthy, and laid the foundations of his future usefulness. He had serious difficulties to overcome before he could enter upon the work of the ministry. But his eye was ever single, his heart glowing with love, and his life one earnest toil for Christ. His name is identified with Christianity in India, and will live and be honored there when the names of Governor-Generals and warriors shall have perished. The illustrations give additional interest and value to this stately volume.

A Memoir of the Life and Labors of Rev. Adoniram Judson, D.D. By FRANCIS WAYLAND. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. 544, 404. Sheldon & Co. 1860. This Memoir was originally published in 1853 by Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston. It now forms one of the regular issues of the above enterprising house of this city. This new edition is in fine style, and the two volumes are embraced in one, by which the price is considerably reduced. The character of the work is already established. It takes rank among the first biographies of the age, and is a soul-stirring and invaluable contribution to the literature of modern missions.

BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Commentar über den Brief an die Galater. Von Dr. KARL WIESELER. Göttingen, 1859. 8vo, pp. xi. 611. The epistle to the Galatians has not for many years received so thorough an exposition as that given in this very able commentary. Dr. Wieseler has been hitherto chiefly known by his work on the Chronology of the Apostolic Age, which won for him a very high rank as an historical and exegetical writer. This volume on the Epistle to the Galatians will increase that reputation, while it also shows his skill and learning in the department of doctrinal theology. Besides the commentary proper, he discusses, in the body of the work, and in the concluding Excursus (pp. 552-600) the chronological question, raised by the first two chapters as compared with the Acts of the Apostles. Another Excursus gives a summary as to the different various readings, on the basis of the most recent critical investigations. Dr. Wieseler incidentally defends the historical character of the early Christian history against the objections of Baur and his school, denying such a marked division between the Petrine and Pauline party as the Tübingen divine contends for. In contrast with such modernizing of the Pauline doctrines as are found, for example, in Jowett's Commentary, it is refreshing to find that this accurate scholar defends the current and genuine Protestant doctrine on the central doctrines of the Christian system. His exposition of justification by faith, on exegetical and doctrinal grounds, is very full and complete, vindicating the specific character of justification, as a declarative act, against both the Romanist and the rationalist. The fulness of the discussion in this point may be seen from the fact that more than 50 pages are devoted to it; the comments on ii, 16 alone occupying some thirty pages. The author well remarks that on this point "the chief opponent of the Roman system is the Word of Scripture." "There is no single doctrine in which the Roman and Protestant systems differ, in which the Roman system has the Scripture on its side." Equally full is Dr. Wieseler's examination of the Scriptural usage of the term 'flesh,' as an ethical word. With the best interpreters, as Augustine, Luther, Neander, Tholuck, and Julius Müller, he says that it signifies, in the chief passages, "sinful human nature, as made up of both spirit and flesh," and as contrasted with the spiritual nature which is the gift of God. It does not merely mean man's lower nature, in distinction from his higher endowments, but his whole natural state as one of estrangement from God.

For these and similar investigations, this commentary deserves a high position. It will take its place alongside such German works as Harless on the Ephesians, Tholuck and Bleek on the Hebrews, etc., as containing a full exposition of the sacred text. It is another evidence that the orthodox system has nothing to fear from the most thorough critical examination of the Word of God. German exegesis, long under the dominion of rationalism, is slowly sweeping round, and taking up its old position as a bulwark of the old faith.

Lectures on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians. By JOHN LILLIE, D.D., Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Kingston, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 586. Carter & Brothers. 1860. This is not a commentary, but simply a series of lectures delivered by a pastor to his people, retaining essentially their original form. The lectures are practical, and adapted to nourish faith and arouse the conscience. Dr. Lillie is a scholar, and we have the results of patient and extensive research in this volume, without the offensive parade of learning. He is an earnest believer in the pre-millennial advent of Christ and his personal reign on earth. These views, of course, deter-

mine his interpretation of parts of these Epistles, and he makes his pages glow with "the brightness of his coming." Aside from this feature of the work, we warmly commend it as an able and instructive exposition of one of the richest portions of the Bible.

The Nonsuch Professor in his Meridian Splendour; or the Singular Actions of Sanctified Christians laid open in seven Sermons, at All-Hallow's Church, London-wall. By WILLIAM SECKER. To which is added the *Wedding-Ring*, a Sermon by the same Author. With an Introduction, by C. P. Krauth, D.D. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860, pp. 320. Dr. Krauth and Mr. Sheldon have rendered a good service to the Christian public by the republication of these two quaint, original, and yet practical works of the Dissenting minister of the seventeenth century. The *Wedding-Ring* was first published in 1653 and has passed through several editions: the *Nonsuch Professor* appeared in 1660: a New-York edition, commended by Drs. McLeod and Romayne, was issued in 1813. The "doctrine raised" in the latter work is, that "a singular Christian will perform singular actions;" and these are set forth with wit, and wisdom, and spiritual insight. An apothegm might be culled from almost every page. The *Wedding-Ring* is excellent in its counsels, and in that brevity, which, if not the soul, is at least the best body, of wit. It opens thus: "Man is, in his creation, angelical; in his corruption, diabolical; in his renovation, theological; in his translation, majestic." The bibliographer, Lowndes, is cited as saying of the *Nonsuch Professor*, "A beautiful little work, worth its weight in gold." It cannot be read without interest and profit.

The Power of Jesus Christ to save to the Uttermost. By the Rev. A. J. CAMPBELL, Melrose. New York: Carte rand Brothers. 1860, pp. 329. The great theme of this volume is advocated with warmth and eloquence, and in a truly evangelical spirit, under its various aspects of warning, encouragement and comfort.

The Historical Evidence of the Truth of the Scripture Records Stated anew. With Special Reference to the Doubts and Discoveries of Modern Times. By GEORGE RAWLINSON M.A. From the London edition, with the Notes translated by Rev. A. N. Arnold. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Pp. 454. This is the course of eight Bampton Lectures for 1859; and, in connection with the volume of Mr. Mansel, it shows that the lecturers in this ancient foundation are entering into the heart of modern criticism about the authority and claims of the divine revelation. The learned editor of Herodotus was well qualified for the task he has here undertaken. In the limits assigned he could not, of course, go over all the ground of infidel objections to the historical character of the Old and New Testament records, but he has taken up many of the points of chief difficulty, and applied with success the results of modern researches in Egyptian and Assyrian history. He plants himself on the sound position, that the revelation is essentially historical. The canons of historical criticism are clearly and forcibly presented in the introductory Lecture, and applied in the whole course with skill and ability. The author contends, and justly, that *prima facie* the Biblical records are at least as worthy of credit as Berosus and Herodotus. The coincidences found by the later Assyrian researches, are brought out with convincing evidence. The three Lectures on the New Testament are an excellent summary of facts and arguments in reply to the Straussian mythical hypothesis and its involved absurdities. The work is a very valuable addition to our apologetic literature.

PHILOSOPHY.

Die Christliche Philosophie, etc. Christian Philosophy, its Idea, its External Relations, and its History to the most recent Times. By Dr. HEINRICH RITTER. Volume second. Göttingen, 1859, pp. 879. This second volume of Dr. Ritter's exposition of Christian philosophy completes the work, of which we gave some account in our Review last year. It contains the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Books; the Fourth and Fifth Books are on the History of Christian Philosophy when it was chiefly secular (worldly) in its character; the Fourth being devoted to Christian Philosophy under the Predominance of Philology, and the Fifth, under the Predominance of Mathematics and the Natural Sciences. The Sixth Book then narrates the history of the later German schools; including an account of the systems of Kant, Lessing, Herder, Jacobi, Fries, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel; and of the opposition to the Absolute Philosophy by Schleiermacher and Herbart; ending with the speculations of Strauss, Bruno Bauer and Feuerbach. The later English, Scotch and even French systems receive a less share of attention than strict justice would demand. The work is pervaded by a high philosophical, as well as Christian spirit; and the result is, that no system of philosophy can be considered as really grasping and solving the problem of speculation, which is arrayed against the Christian faith. It is in some sort a compendium of Dr. Ritter's larger work; but shows also the fruits of continued studies, and has a more definite Christian tendency. He does not speak as a theologian, but as a philosopher; and hence his candid and comprehensive criticisms will perhaps have more influence over many thinkers. It would be a good service to the cause of philosophical and Christian learning to have these able volumes made more accessible to English readers by a competent version.

The Intuitions of the Mind inductively investigated. By Rev. JAMES MCCOSH, LL.D., Prof. of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's College, Belfast. New-York: Carters. 1860. 8vo, pp. 504. Dr. McCosh attempts in this volume a higher theme than in any of his previous works; the investigation, classification, and, to some extent, the application of our Primitive Cognitions, Beliefs and Judgments. The First Part gives a general View of the Nature of the Intuitive Convictions of the Human Mind; the Second Part is devoted to a Particular Examination of the Intuitions, under the head of Cognitions, Beliefs and Judgments; the Third Part treats of Intuitive Principles in Relation to the Various Sciences, concluding with an application to theology. The general philosophical position of the book is intermediate between idealism and sensationalism. By an animated style, and frequent repetitions of the author's personal convictions, more life is given to the discussions than is usual in volumes of such abstract matter. Dr. McCosh is an independent thinker, devoted to no man or school; and some of the more interesting parts of the volume are devoted to criticism on his predecessors and contemporaries. He dissents, we are glad to see, from Sir Wm. Hamilton as to the positive nature of our idea of the Infinite, on the question of Causality, and, generally, upon the main postulates of the Philosophy of the Conditioned. Some of his criticism of German philosophers proceed from a misapprehension of their real views; though many of his remarks are just and forcible. To do it justice, the work requires a fuller notice than we can here give to it. We are not sure that we always master the terminology of the author, even, for example, in respect to his use of the two main words in the title, Intuitions and Induction. Accord-

ing to the ordinary usage of Induction, this process can only give us a general, and never a universal or necessary truth. And when Intuitions are said, for example, to be "primarily directed to individual objects," we are entirely at a loss for a definition of the word, which shall cover this case and also its application to universal and necessary truths. No possible abstraction and generalisation from individual objects can give us the prime truths of reason. The work will attract attention, not only from the reputation of the author, but also from the fact, that, excepting Ferrier's Institutes of Metaphysic, and the partial discussions by Sir William Hamilton, it is the only volume from the Scotch school which attempts the construction of a regular metaphysical system.

Logique de Hegel, traduite pour la première fois, et accompagnée d'une Introduction et d'un Commentaire perpétuel; par A. VÉRA. 2 Tomes. Paris: 1859. Pp. 354, 396. So far as we know, M. Véra is the only French Hegelian extant. Bénard has translated Hegel's *Æsthetics*, but does not profess to be a convert to his logic. Dr. H. Sloman a few years ago wrote for a pupil a French version of Hegel's Subjective (Formal) Logic, which was then put into English by him and J. Wallon, and published in a pamphlet in London in 1855. But M. Véra is an enthusiastic disciple of the great Teutonic metaphysician. His first work, *Problème de la Certitude*, Paris, 1845, grappled with the question of the certainty of knowledge on the basis of the Hegelian objective idealism. His *Introduction à la Philosophie de Hegel*, Paris, 1855, is undoubtedly the most thorough exhibition of the principles of Hegel's system that has been published outside of Germany. English readers were invited by him to accept this doctrine, in contrast with the crudities of Calderwood and Ferrier, in sixty-eight pages, with the title *An Inquiry into Speculative and Experimental Science*, issued in 1856. And now we have in clear French, with acute expositions, the beginning of a version of Hegel's most abstruse treatise; a literal translation of the concise logic of Hegel, as given in his *Encyclopædia* in the edition of 1817, and not of the larger treatise. He has done well to take this abridgment, adding explanations from the larger treatise and other works. The translator's plan extends to the publication of the whole of this *Encyclopædia*, in its earlier and more concise form, though it was edited after Hegel's death, with supplements from his auditors' notes on his Lectures. The first volume of M. Véra's work is occupied with his own Introduction, and with that of Hegel to this Logic. In his own Introduction he discusses the general principle of the Hegelian system, especially in its identification of Logic and Metaphysics, showing that the former presupposes and runs into the latter, that we cannot make an ultimate distinction between thought and its form, or even between ideas and being. Without considering the forcible objections urged by German philosophers to the Hegelian system, M. Véra adopts it with the zeal of a neophyte. Considered as an attempt to transfer an abstruse German treatise into the French tongue, the work is certainly very successful. The difficulties are found partly in the contrasted nature of the two languages, and partly in the idiomatic peculiarities of the Hegelian terminology. For example, "*L'Existence, au contraire, est cette unité, ou le devenir [das Werden] sans cette forme d'unité; elle est, par conséquent, limitée et finie. . . Elle est contenue virtuellement [an sich] dans son unité, mais elle n'y est pas encore posée,*" (ii. pp. 22, 23.) Only a long commentary could make this intelligible even to Frenchmen. So too (pp. 24, 25): "*Le devenir, par suite de cette opposition qu'il contient, passe dans l'unité ou des deux contraires se trouvent supprimés, et le résultat de ce passage est l'existence;*" rather as difficult "passage" either in French or English! The only French equivalent for *Etwas* is *quelque chose*. *An-sich-seyn* is ren-

dered *l'être-en-soi*; *Für-sich-seyn* appears as *être-pour-soi*. The second volume carries the translation through the three divisions of the Science of Being, the Science of Essence, the Science of Notions (Conceptions).

GENERAL LITERATURE.

Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, '58, '59. By LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, Esq.: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 8vo, pp. 645. The mission of the Earl of Elgin is fortunate in its historian. Mr. Oliphant's volume is one of absorbing interest; and it is issued in a very handsome style, with abundant illustrations. The events described, so intimately connected with the opening of two vast empires to the influence of European commerce and civilization, have an interest from their relation to the general history of mankind, as well as in their immediate details. The whole course of the mission is amply narrated, from its beginning to its consummation, and with all the zest given to it by the circumlocutions and evasions of Chinese diplomacy, if such it can be called. Mr. Oliphant is a keen observer, and a capital narrator; whatever is novel or peculiar in character or customs or places, is graphically portrayed. Among the most attractive parts of his volume are his details about Japanese life, habits, trade, and history, presenting much that is new. As far as the history of religion is concerned, though this has not been studied as thoroughly by the author as the topics which more directly concerned the mission, yet many important facts and accounts of rites and opinions are interspersed. The Jesuit missions among the Japanese receive particular attention. A full account is given of the system of faith of the notorious Chinese rebel—a literal rendering of the Tai-Ping Manifesto, which banishes some illusive reports as to its affinity with Christianity. The work is one which will be sure to find a large class of readers, and it has the elements of permanent literary worth.

Letters from Switzerland. By SAMUEL IRENEUS PRIME, author of "Travels in Europe and the East." Sheldon & Co. 1860. Dr. Prime holds ever a fresh and glowing pen. His former books of travel have charmed multitudes of readers. And the present one is equal to them in interest. He is a most genial traveller, quick to mark the chief points of interest, and happy in his effort to give life and freshness to the picture. The reader who follows him along the sublime path of Alpine scenery will have no occasion to complain of dullness, and it will be his own fault if he fail to see and learn enough amply to reward him for the journey.

The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature. By WILLIAM THOS. LOWNDES. New Edition by HENRY G. BOHN. Part V. London: 1860. To Lyttleton. This edition is very much superior to the original one. Mr. Bohn is indefatigable in his additions and researches. Some of the articles, as that on Junius, are quite complete. Mr. Bohn in his Preface gives some curious researches bearing on the authorship of Junius, confirmatory of the claims of Sir Philip Francis. This Manual is far from being satisfactory in theology, but in general literature it is indispensable.

Inaugural, delivered before the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary of the Synod of South Carolina, at the meeting of the Synod in Bath-Eden Church, Newberry, S. C. By J. A. BROWN, D.D. Charleston, S. C. This is an able defense of the study of the original languages of the

Scriptures, and also contains a candid estimate of the arguments in respect to a revision of the English version. It gives excellent promise of Dr. Brown's success as a theological teacher.

The Religious Condition of Christendom. Third Part. The Series of Papers read at the Conference of the Evangelical Alliance in Berlin, 1857. Edited by Rev. EDWARD STEANE, Secretary of the British Organization. London: 1859. In this handsome volume of over 700 pages, are collected the reports and addresses made to the Evangelical Alliance, giving a very complete view of Protestantism, especially in its relation to Romanism, in all parts of the world. Much of the material can no where else be found. The spirit of Christian fellowship is enlarged by such a volume.

The Platonic Dialogues for English Readers. By WILLIAM WHEWELL, D.D. Vol. I. Cambridge. 1859. Pp. 444. The idea of this work is excellent, and it is well executed. An English reader can take up the volume and find himself introduced in a familiar and intelligible manner to the great philosopher of Greece. Dr. Whewell has been employed upon this task for several years, and the result shows the marks of that careful revision of a translation, which removes the vestiges of foreign idioms. He is a cautious critic, vindicating for Plato some dialogues, which bolder men have denied to be his. He is also inclined to find less of profundity in the Platonic philosophy than many of the Germans do, and always decides for the plain rather than the recondite sense. This volume contains thirteen Dialogues; Class I, Dialogues of the Socratic School, embracing Laches, Charmides, Lysis, the Rivals, the first and second Alcibiades, Theages, Clitophon. Class II, Dialogues referring to the Trial and Death of Socrates, viz. Meno, Euthyphro, Apology, Crito, Phædo.

Harper's Greek and Latin Classics. Aeschylus ex novissima recensione Frederici A. Paley. Accessit verborum quæ præcipue notanda sunt et Nominum Index. Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera Omnia, ex recensione A. J. Maclean. New York: 1860. These are the first volumes of the new series of Greek and Latin texts, which the Harpers propose to issue. They are beautifully got up, with clear type, superfine paper and flexible muslin bindings, and published at forty cents a volume. The text is carefully prepared on the basis of the London Bibliotheca Classica. Every learner and scholar should have these elegant editions.

The Satires of Juvenal, Persius, Sulpicia, and Lucilius, literally translated into English Prose, with Notes, Chronological Tables, Arguments, etc. By the Rev. LEWIS EVANS. To which is added the Metrical Version of Juvenal and Persius, by the late William Gifford, Esq. This new volume of Harper's New Classical Library amply sustains the character of the series. Mr. Gifford's Essay on the Roman Satirists is also given in the introduction. The prose translation of Mr. Evans is faithful, and accompanied with valuable notes.

Lucy Crofton, By the author of Margaret Maitland, etc. etc.: Harper & Brothers. 1860. This is one of the best works of fiction recently published; elevated in its tone, discriminating in its portraiture of character, and attractive in narrative.

Wolfe of the Knoll, and other Poems. By Mrs. GEORGE P. MARSH. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860. 12mo, pp. 327. The scene of the largest poem in this beautiful volume is laid partly in the island of Amrum, near the coast of the duchy of Schleswig Holstein, and partly in and around the city of Tunis. This diversity of region gives occasion for depicting marked contrasts in natural

scenery and in habits of life. Mrs. Marsh shows a high degree of poetic skill in delineating scenes of nature and varieties in character. Her poems indicate fertility of invention and command of a great variety of metre, often admirably adapting the measure of the verse to the subject. A delicate fancy and highly cultivated taste preside over all the details of the execution. The fruits of wide travel in remote lands, and of faithful observation, are gracefully interwoven. Several of the minor poems are translations from the Swedish and German, and would be worthy of any scholar; one from Zwingle, in old English style, is also not deficient in critical grasp and the delineation of the characteristic differences of the schools. The descriptions of artists and their works show a refined taste and delicate appreciation of the various forms of art.

Women Artists in all Ages and Countries. By MRS. ELLETT, author of *The Women of the American Revolution*. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo, pp. 377. This excellent work fills up a gap in our æsthetic literature. It is a very interesting and historically complete sketch of what the women of all ages have accomplished for art. Written in a simple and direct style, it is also not deficient in critical grasp and the delineation of the characteristic differences of the schools. The descriptions of artists and their works show a refined taste and delicate appreciation of the various forms of art.

A Life for a Life. By the author of *John Halifax, The Ogilvies*, etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo, pp. 396. A new work by Miss Muloch is sure to find a multitude of readers. This is one of the very best of her admirable novels.

Love me Little, Love me Long. By CHARLES READE. New York: Harpers. 1860. 12mo, pp. 435. 52. *A Good Fight, and other Tales.* By CHARLES READE. With illustrations. Harpers. 1859. 12mo, pp. 341. These two novels have the well-known characteristic of the author: sharp delineations, lively narrative, animated colloquies, and a certain marked carelessness of style and manner. He belongs to the realistic school of novelists. The second of these volumes is made additionally attractive by its quaint illustrations.

Misrepresentation. A novel by ANNA H. DRURY, author of *Friends and Fortune, Eastbury*, etc. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 8vo, pp. 211.

The Wife's Trials and Triumphs. By the author of *Grace Hamilton's School-Days, Heart's Ease in the House*, etc., etc. New-York: Sheldon & Co.

The Christian Lawyer; being a Portraiture of the Life and Character of William George Baker. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1859. 12mo, pp. 320. Mr. Baker was taken away in the maturity of life, and in the midst of his Christian usefulness. His life furnishes a high example of devotion to God through many trials and in spite of the temptations of his professional career.

Life and Liberty in America; or, Sketches of a Tour in the United States and Canada in 1857-8. By CHARLES MACKAY, LL.D., F.S.A. With ten illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1859. 12mo, pp. 413. Dr. Mackay's descriptions are animated, and his criticisms are in a kind spirit. Seeing only or chiefly the outside of our life, he fails to detect the real sources of our character. He judges according to the appearance, and has but a superficial acquaintance with our history and institutions. But his stories are well told, his poetry is lively, and his book is entertaining.

Life in Spain; Past and Present. By WALTER THORNBURY. With illustrations. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1860. 8vo, pp. 388. Mr. Thornbury is the author of *Every Man his own Trumpeter, Art and Nature*, and other works, and has been connected with the *Athæneum*, London. This volume is a series of "photographic" sketches of Spanish life "taken (I assure you, dear reader) on cigarette paper, and written with ink made of orange-juice and Spanish liquorice." The descriptions are very animated and picturesque;

minute in details, so as to make them life-like; dashing and off-hand, too, as seen by a sharp eye in a rapid journey. After reading it, we seem to know all about Spanish dinners, and hotels, and proverbs, (a very good selection,) and bull-fights, and the Alhambra, and Murillo's pictures, and Spanish art, and the men and women to be met in journeying; and we feel very much obliged to our intelligent and lively companion.

The Gospel in Burmah. By MRS. MACLOUD WYLIE. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Pp. 332. Mrs. Wylie presents us in this volume with a connected narrative of the introduction and marvelous progress of Christianity among the mese and Karens. It is not a formal history, but a series of sketches drawn from materials which lie scattered in the valuable memoirs of Dr. Judson and of many of his co-laborers who have fallen on that field, and in various other works. The story is told in a concise and pleasing manner, and apparently with candor and impartiality. No one can read it and not have his sympathies awakened afresh and deepened in the missionary work, or refrain from thanking God for the signal displays of his power in connection with this highly favored mission.

Children's Books.—*History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia.* By JACOB ABBOTT. With engravings. New York, Harper & Brothers. 1860. 18mo, pp. 368. *Stories of Rainbow and Lucky.* By JACOB ABBOTT: *Handie and Rainbow's Journey.* Published by Harpers. 2 vols. 18mo, pp. 187, 201. *The Florence Stories.* By JACOB ABBOTT. *Florence and John.* New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. Pp. 252. All these volumes are issued in an attractive style, and will be warmly welcomed by the little folks. Of a kindred tone are the *Oakland Stories*, by GEORGE B. TAYLOR, of Virginia. New York: Sheldon, Blakeman & Co. 1860. *Harry's Summer in Ashcroft.* With illustrations. 1860, happily unites amusement with instruction. *The Old Battle Ground.* By T. T. TROWBRIDGE. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1860. 18mo, pp. 276, has been eagerly read by some boys and girls we know about. *The Hidden Treasure; or, The Secret of Success in Life.* By Miss SARAH A. BABCOCK. Four illustrations. New York: Carlton & Porter. 12mo, pp. 264, enforces the duty of systematic beneficence in an interesting narrative. James Challen & Son, of Philadelphia, are the publishers of two useful books by ANNA M. HYDE: *English History*, condensed and simplified for children, and a *Ladder to Learning*, for little climbers. Here is a little square, thin book, of which no child can read the title without wanting to see it, and the book is quite as good as the title: *The Story of the Gray African Parrot*, who was rescued by the little sailor-boy in the river Gaboon; how he whistled, and how he talked, including his great battle with the monkeys, which lasted six weeks, and how he behaved during the awful shipwreck, together with some account of his latter days. By HARRY GRINGO. New York: Charles Scribner. 1860.

Catalogue of the Library of Prof. W. W. TURNER. 8vo, pp. 120. This library embraces a unique collection of works on the History of the Aborigines of this Country and in their Languages; an assortment of Voyages and Travels; a variety of Books in the German, French, Russian, Greek, and Latin Languages; also in Hebrew, Arabic, Sanscrit, Hindustani, Persian, Phœnician, Japanese, Chinese, and other Oriental Languages; Philological Works, numerous valuable and scarce Pamphlets and many Choice Manuscripts; and a collection of fine copies of Books in other departments. A collection so special in its character, and containing so large a proportion of rare and valuable books, is worthy the attention of scholars. It is to be sold at auction by Bangs, Merwin & Co., on the 28th May ensuing.

Hester and I. By MRS. MANNERS. Sheldon & Co. 18mo, pp. 237. 1860. The lesson, to "beware of worldliness," is forcibly taught in this Christian tale. The spirit of the book is admirable, and young and old may read it with profit. It is worthy of a place in every Sabbath-school library.

News of the Churches and of Missions.

UNITED STATES. GERMAN REFORMED CHURCH.—The statistics of the German Reformed church in the United States, as gathered from the minutes of the late Synod, sum up as follows: Synods, 2; classes, 24; ministers, 366; congregations, 1059; members, 87,176; unconfirmed members, 50,370; baptisms, 11,012; confirmations, 6266; received by certificate, 1415; communed, 77,350; excommunicated, 81; dismissed, 494; deaths, 3372; Sabbath schools, 772. These statistics are still imperfect. They, however, compared with the reports of the previous year, show the following increase: ministers, 10; congregations, 39; members, 4943; unconfirmed members, 20,221; baptisms, 330; confirmations, 447; received by certificate, 205; communed, 4598; excommunicated, 15; dismissed, 27; Sabbath schools, 61. The number of deaths reported is 159 less than that of the previous year. This result is upon the whole encouraging. The number of members, if correctly reported, would exceed 100,000. We add, that there are three colleges and two theological seminaries connected with the church. Eight periodicals are also published, five English and three German.—*German Ref. Messenger.*

RATIO OF INCREASE IN CHURCHES.

—The writer of a sermon lately published in New York, the object of which is to strengthen the faith of the church in the itinerancy, presents some interesting data in support of his theory. He takes several of the leading churches of the country and

runs them through a comparison of results for fifty years—from 1800 to 1850. He finds that the Protestant Episcopal church had in 1800, 258 ministers; in 1850, 1526; ratio of increase, 6 to 1. Congregationalists at the first period had 400 ministers, at the second 1687; increase, 4 to 1. Regular Baptists had 1284; at the end of fifty years, 5142; increase, 4 to 1. Presbyterians, Old and New School, were in ministers 300 strong; in 1850 they had 4196; increase, 14 to 1. The Methodist Episcopal church had at the first period 287 ministers, at the latter 5646; ratio of increase, a fraction over 19 to 1. The ratio of increase in the membership of these churches during the same period is equally remarkable. Protestant Episcopalians had an increase equal to 6 to 1, Congregationalists a fraction over 2 to 1, Regular Baptists a fraction over 5 to 1, Presbyterians a fraction over 8 to 1, Methodist Episcopal nearly 18 to 1.

PRESBYTERIAN BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The following summary view of its operations is gathered from its last Annual Report:

No. of missions,.....	24
" stations, not far from.....	50
" American ministers.....	69
" Am. lay teachers and others, males, ..	27
" " " " " females, ..	101
Total from America,.....	197
No. of native ministers,.....	4
" " lay teachers and others, (returns incomplete,) ..	52
" communicants, (returns incomplete,) ..	1162
" pupils in schools, ..	2340

The missions are distributed as follows: In Africa, 3 or 4; India, 2; Siam, 1; China, 3; Chinese in Cali-

fornia, 1; Japan, 1; South America, 3; North American Indians, 9. The Board has also a missionary to the Jews, in New York, and assists various Protestant societies laboring among Roman Catholics in Europe.

RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF COLLEGES FOR 1859.

NAME OF COLLEGE.	Number of students.	Professors of religion.	Making profession in '59.	Intending for the ministry.
Amherst,.....	258	166	.	84
Bowdoin,.....	215	75	2	25
Brown University,....	212	88
Dartmouth,.....	299	100?	5?	..
Gettysburgh,.....	126	81	7	66
Hamilton,.....	180	56	8	30
Harvard University,....	481	100	4	..
Middlebury,.....	108	55	..	31
Univ. of Vermont,....	91	32	3	21
Univ. of N. Carolina,...	425	80	..	20
Univ. at Lewisburg,...	67	45	7	25
Washington,.....	180	61	8	50
Waterville,.....	117	52	..	27
Wesleyan University,...	138	112	5	47
William,.....	244	149	8	76
Yale,.....	502	299	10	100
Aggregate,.....	3668	1546	62	602

The above table is compiled from the answers received in reply to circular letters addressed to the several colleges east of the Alleghany. As twenty colleges have not been heard from, it is but a partial view.

THE RICHES OF THEIR LIBERALITY.—Dr. Stevens in his History of Methodism, says that from 1803 to 1859 Wesleyan Methodism has contributed \$17,849,160 for foreign evangelization, and that its poor have kept its treasury full.

PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.—The high authorities of the Romish church in the United States have spared no pains to call forth the sympathies of the Papists in our land in behalf of his Holiness Pious IX. as a temporal prince. Provincial councils have been held, and many and long pastorals issued.

EFFICACY OF AMERICAN MISSIONARIES.—The *Levant Herald*, an English paper published at Constantino-

ple, says: The American missionaries have done more to advance civilization and pure religion throughout Turkey than all the other agencies, diplomatic or missionary, which European policy or propagandism has ever set to work upon the country.

GOVERNMENT CHAPLAINS.—Since the beginning of the United States government, there have been 256 chaplains chosen for the army and navy, 125 of whom were Episcopalians, 41 Presbyterians, 36 Methodists, 21 Baptists, 12 Congregationalists, 5 Roman Catholics, 2 Unitarians, and 1 each from the Reformed Dutch, Lutherans, and Universalists. There are at present 28 Episcopalians, 6 Presbyterians, 5 Methodists, and 4 Congregationalists.

The question of itinerancy in the Methodist church is elaborately discussed by Rev. Dr. Curry in the *Independent*. The Methodist denomination are considering the expediency of extending the term during which a minister may remain in the same place, and the subject is to be brought to the notice of the next General Conference. Dr. Curry, after a careful review of the arguments for and against the project of extension, considers that the present regulation will probably be so modified that the maximum of a three years' pastorate will be allowed, as a measure at once desirable and safe. Such as are asking for more will accept this, hoping hereafter to gain all they ask; and those who deprecate any change will yield so much, hoping that this concession will satisfy.

RECEIPTS OF THE AMERICAN BOARD.—The *Journal of Missions* for April states that from Aug. 1, 1859, to Feb. 29, 1860—seven months of the financial year of the American Board—the receipts amount to but \$153,952; that the whole sum needed for the year is \$436,000; that within the five remaining months the contributions must amount to \$282,000; and that to accomplish this the monthly contributions must be \$56,400.

Mr. Brownson is warning his Catholic brethren, in his *Review*, that "the church" must decline in this country, and dwindle into insignificance, unless it can attain a greater intellectual power. He says that the church is not growing by conversions half as rapidly as it is diminishing by perverts; that it cannot hope to maintain its ground by immigration from abroad; and that very soon some of its great cathedrals will be without congregations. He says the Catholics must humble the Protestant pride of intellect in this country, by proving themselves superior. And of this he sees but little present hope, as the intellectuality of the Catholics of America is now so low, that, among all their hundreds of thousands, no work of any merit from the best Papal pens can command a sale of more than 2000 or 2500 copies.

THE BOGOTA OUTRAGE.—The report in relation to the burning of Bibles in front of the Archbishop's residence in Bogota is confirmed. A large number of Voltaire's and Rousseau's works, and Bibles, were burned in the same pile; and, what is very remarkable, these Bibles were all of Roman Catholic editions, thus placing these infidel works and their own Bible on the same footing. Mr. Sharpe confidently believes that God will overrule this for good. While this outward opposition is boldly going on, individual members of the same community are quietly seeking the salvation of their souls.—*Presb. Record*.

ENGLAND. STATISTICS OF LONDON CHURCHES.—The latest religious statistics of the metropolis are to be found in the new Post-office Directory, which sets the number of clergymen and Dissenting ministers at 930, who respectively preside over 429 churches and 423 chapels, of which latter buildings the Independents have 121, the Baptists 100, the Wesleyans 77, the Roman Catholics 29, the Calvinists and English Presbyterians 10 each, the Quakers 7, and the Jews 10, the numerous other sects being content with num-

bers varying from one to five each. These figures may not be quite accurate, but they approximate to the truth, and show about one church or chapel to every 3000 souls. The special services, now so largely extended, must be doing much to supply the lack of accommodation.—*Patriot*.

BENEVOLENCE OF BRITISH CHRISTIANS.—During 1859 there were contributed to about thirty of the principal religious societies of Great Britain \$4,262,435, an average of \$82,000 a week, over \$11,000 a day, and nearly \$500 an hour. And yet this is but a portion of the amount given in that country for evangelical and benevolent purposes. The income of the British and Foreign Bible Society was \$774,530; of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, \$645,380; of the Church Missionary Society, \$610,440; of the Religious Tract Society, \$489,490; of the London Missionary Society, \$366,440.

CARRYING OUT THE GREAT COMMISSION.—Through the agency of the British Wesleyan Missionary Society alone, the gospel is preached in more than twenty languages, at 3650 places in various parts of Europe, in India, China, Southern and Western Africa, the West Indies, Australia, Canada, and British America.

WESLEYAN MISSION SCHOOLS.—The English Wesleyan Missionary Society maintains, in whole or in part, 1127 day schools and 1121 Sabbath schools, connected with which are 2335 day school teachers and 7598 Sabbath school teachers. The number of scholars, deducting for those who attend both the day and Sabbath schools, is 117,190.

SOCIAL IMPROVEMENT IN GREAT BRITAIN.—At the third annual meeting of the British Association for the Promotion of Social Science, many valuable papers were read on the social problems of the day. The influence of intemperance on the crime and degradation of the people was fully

illustrated, and it was proved to be the cause of the greater part of the poverty and crime of the country. The fact was brought out that crime was decreasing in every part of the kingdom, there being a decrease during the past year of 15 per cent. The total number of convictions in England and Wales was only about 18,000. The reformatories for training juvenile criminals in virtuous habits are exerting a good influence. The health of the people is continually improving under the influence of better living and better sanitary measures, such as good drainage, pure water, and well-ventilated houses, which are now reduced almost to a system. The average annual mortality of the kingdom is now about 1 in every 44 of the population, a greater average duration of life than in any other country. In some very healthy parts of the country, only 17 in every 1000 die annually, or 1 in 58½ of the population, which is made the standard towards which the country should aim, all mortality higher than this being regarded as unnatural and produced by artificial and preventible causes.

NEW BISHOPS.—The last report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, congratulates its friends on the extension of the Episcopate in the English colonial empire, stating that, within a few months, bishops have been consecrated for Waiapu, New Zealand; for British Columbia; for Moreton Bay, now called Queensland; and for St. Helena.

MISSIONARY CONFERENCE.—A Missionary conference was to be held at Liverpool on the 19th March, and to be continued until the 23d. The Earl of Shaftesbury was to preside. The object of this meeting was to consider the best means to be employed for the more effectual carrying on of missionary operations in foreign countries, and for infusing more of a missionary spirit at home.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS.—The first mission of the Protestants was that of the Huguenots to Rio Janeiro in 1556,

which was concerted by John Calvin and Admiral Coligny, the noble leader of the Huguenots who was brutally murdered at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Missionary efforts were also made by Swedish Christians in Lapland near the end of the same century; by the Dutch early in the next century; by John Eliot the apostle to the Indians, and the Mayhews in Massachusetts in the same century; by the king of Denmark in 1701, and by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1705; by Sargent, Edwards, and Brainerd among the North American Indians about the middle of the last century; by the Moravians in 1743; by the English Baptists in 1792; by the London Society in 1795; by the Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1796, and by the Netherlands Society in 1797.

The report of the Scottish Reformation Society, presented by the Rev. Dr. Begg, on the subject of the amount which the English government now annually appropriates to the support of Romanism, says: "At this moment the subsidies we give to Rome amount, in the aggregate, to about £200,000 annually—which sum, vast as it is, does not include uncounted sums which we have no means to investigate."

THE WEEK OF SPECIAL PRAYER at the opening of the year was observed in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and many other places abroad with great interest. It was largely and earnestly observed at the mission stations in all parts of the world. The *Glasgow Guardian* says: "Mr. Macleod Wylie wrote a pamphlet on the Lodiana proposal some months since, which was to be circulated all over India. It is also asserted that 20,000 natives of Burmah are uniting with us. Dr. d'Aubigné has organized a union in Geneva. Mr. W. Taylor at Nice. In the United States, in Canada, in New Brunswick, etc., it was observed by some thousands of congregations. The summons to pray has gone to Jerusa-

lem, to the continent, and to our colonies in general. How delightful these tidings from afar! Let it be remembered that it was just that union and continuance in prayer which brought down the first Pentecostal blessing!"

FREE LIBRARY FOR THE JEWS IN LONDON.—Mr L. M. Rothschild has purchased the Sussex Hall Library, which was about being brought under the hammer, consisting of about 4000 volumes, and containing a collection of valuable Hebrew works. Mr. Rothschild has presented the library to the Jews' College, Finsbury Square. It is expected that arrangements will be made whereby the books will likewise become available as a free library for the benefit of the Jewish community. —*London Jewish Chronicle.*

WALES.—Wales is still rejoicing in the manifold tokens of the Divine regard. Many of the churches in the northern part of the Principality are enjoying a large share of prosperity. About Stala a large in-gathering to the church of Christ, to the extent of 1800 souls has been realized. Llangelless, and the neighborhood, are distinguished. One church reports the baptism of 40; another 30; another 24, and another 37. Prayer-meetings are held in all the places of worship in the towns, at which large numbers attend. Children are holding prayer-meetings by themselves, and many of these little ones are lambs of the flock of Jesus. The number of converts to the various denominations of orthodox Christians, during the year is 30,000 to 35,000. This number, considering the limited population of Wales, is great. It is known from reliable sources that 25,000 have been added to the Welsh Calvinistic churches.

IRELAND.—THE REVIVAL.—The *London Review* for Jan. contains a long and excellent article on this subject, from which we extract some items of remarkable interest.

Moral and economical effects of it. In the town of Belfast, the great distillery of MacKenzie, capable of producing 12,000,000 gallons of whiskey

a year is advertised to be let or sold. In the town of Hillsborough another distillery is in the same position. At the late sessions in Belfast the cases for trial have been just half as many as last year. In Ballymena, where 120 liquor establishments used to fill the town with broils and crimes, at the late Quarter Sessions, only four cases were on the calendar. The presiding barrister said that while it was no part of his business to enter into the causes leading to this wonderful change, he was called upon to congratulate the jury on the elevation in the morals of the people which it indicated. In the parish of Connor, where the revival has been in progress more than two years, 3 out of the 9 public-houses are closed and the six now open sell less whiskey than one did before the revival began. In '57 there were 37 committals for offences connected with drunkenness; in '58 only 11; and in '59 but 4! In '57 they had 27 paupers in the union; now 4; then the poor-rates were one shilling in the pound; now they are sixpence. And similar results are given in relation to numerous other places.

At the opening of the Quarter Sessions in Coleraine, on the 7th of Jan., the barrister said: "When I look into the calendar for the last three months, and in memory look back on calendars that came before, I am greatly struck with its appearance on this occasion. During the entire of three months which have passed since I was here before, I find that but one new case has to come before you. As I said before, I am greatly struck at the appearance of this calendar, so small is the number of cases, when formerly I had calendars filled with charges for different nefarious practices. Now I have none of these, I am happy to say. How is such a gratifying state of things to be accounted for? It must be from the improved state of the morality of the people. I believe I am fully warranted now to say that to nothing else than the moral and religious movement, which commenced early last

summer, can the change be attributed. I can trace the state of your calendar to nothing else." The usual return of the prisoners committed to take their trial at the Assizes for the county Antrim, has just been made to the Crown Solicitor; and the return is such as reflects the highest credit on the population, for the form is simply marked "*Nil*," there being not a single prisoner in custody.

"So marked was the improvement in the spirit and morals of the people on the 12th of July, the day above all in the year dear to the heart of the Irish Protestant, and often the occasion of terrible strife and bloodshed between the Protestants and Catholics—that shortly after, Chief Baron Pigott, himself a Catholic, sitting on the bench gave the following memorable testimony: "He took occasion to refer to the religious movement in the North as having extinguished all party animosities and produced the most wholesome moral results upon the community at large." His lordship spoke in the most favorable terms of the movement, and expressed a hope that it would extend over the whole country, and influence society to its lowest depths.

GERMANY. FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.—The *Missionfreund*, No. 12, 1859, reports 400 Germans as laboring in different foreign missions, in all parts of the world, excepting the South Sea. The Moravians have 168 missionaries, at 75 stations, with 73,000 natives under their care. The Basle mission has 70 laborers in W. Africa, Western E. India and China; the latter the weakest, the African the strongest mission. The Rhenish mission has 36 missionaries in China, Borneo, and S. Africa; in Africa it has 15 stations and 7000 natives. The Gossuer Mission in E. India has 5 stations, 14 missionaries, 4000 natives. The Leipsic Lutheran mission, 11 missionaries at 8 stations in E. India, 5000 natives; the old Halle E. India mission now gives its funds to this Society. The North German mission

of Bremen has 15 missionaries at 6 stations in W. Africa and New Zealand. There are three Gutzlaff societies for China; the Berlin (with 2 missionaries at Hong Kong), the Berlin Female, and the Pomeranian. The Hermannsburg mission has 60 missionaries among the Zulus, Caffres, etc.

THE PROTESTANTS OF GERMANY.—All over Germany there is a conscious want of more complete organization among Protestants, especially in view of the order and unity which characterize their great foe, the Papal church. In the Grand Duchy of Hesse there has been a conference of the Evangelical churches to discuss the principles of church government, and the means of realizing them in that country. The Presbyterian constitution met with the most decided favor. But these Germans delight in theorizing, and move slowly; and when the question came as to bringing the matter before the proper authorities of the country, it was decided first to have another meeting for discussion.

TRACT SOCIETIES IN GERMANY.—The oldest of these Societies is that of Wupperthal. It was founded through the instrumentality of Pinkerton, an agent of the London Tract and British and Foreign Bible Societies, on the 15th of July, 1814. The name of Pinkerton is still affectionately remembered among the evangelical Christians of Germany. The career of this Society has been much obstructed by the jealousy of the authorities, and only since 1848 has it had full opportunity for its peculiar labors. It has been largely aided, both by the English and the American societies, and is in debt nevertheless. The receipts last year were 5083 thalers; expenditures, 5606. 180,132 tracts were published in the year 1858-9. Original German tracts have been scarce, hence an arrangement has been entered into by eighteen different Tract organizations for an interchange of original issues. Pity that the divided condition of the

German nation should operate to hinder the consolidation of these societies, so weak by themselves, into one great organization!

BADEN.—The Grand Duchy of Baden has a population of 809,458 Catholics, and 432,052 Protestants; the reigning Grand Duke is a Protestant. A concordat with Rome was formed last December, which virtually puts all marriages under the control of the Catholics, and which allows the R. C. Archbishop to interfere with any teaching, in any of the departments of University instruction. This is calling forth indignant remonstrances: one from 20 of the Professors in the University of Freiburg; another from 13,000 inhabitants of Heidelberg, of whom 600 were Catholics.

AUSTRIA. RELIGIOUS STATISTICS (from the *Deutsche Zeitschrift*); 27,019,154 Catholics, (viz., 23,541,480 Roman, 3,468,260 Greek, 9418 Armenian); 3,128,973 Protestants, (1,926,528 Reformed, and 1,202,445 Lutherans); 49,207 Unitarians (Socinians); 1,040,570 Jews, the half of whom are in Galicia; besides smaller sects.

HUNGARIAN PROTESTANTS AND AUSTRIA.—Positive information has been received that the Hungarian Protestants will never accept the Imperial *octroi*, "but will continue to insist on their right to settle the internal affairs of their Church and schools in the way determined by the Synods which were held at Pesth and Buda in the year 1791." Late intelligence from Austria states that Imperial permission has been granted to the Protestant Consistories in Hungary for them to assemble in conference and decide on the means to be proposed to government for the redress of their grievances. And a dispatch from Vienna of the 13th says the reforms promised in the ministerial programme are about to be granted. Each province will receive a constitution and administration of its own.

CONCESSIONS TO THE JEWS.—An Imperial decree of Feb. 21 concedes to the Jews of Lower Austria, Moravia, Silesia, Hungary, Voywodina, and the Banat, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, and the Littoral Districts, the right of possessing real property. They cannot, however, exercise the rights of patronage, jurisdiction, or scholastic representation, attached to such possession. They may become agricultural proprietors if, in compliance with the law, they are domiciled upon their establishments and cultivate the land themselves. In Galicia, Bohemia, and Cracow, the rights enjoyed by Christians connected with the possession of real property are granted to those Jews who have been educated at the colleges, or at commercial, nautical, or mining academies, or who are officers in the army. Other Jews may at present only acquire such real property as was permitted by the law before 1848, and may farm landed property belonging to the Crown, but not real property of the kind styled *Russkal* farms.

PROTESTANTS IN AUSTRIA.—There are in the Austrian dominions about 3,000,000, divided as follows: In Hungary, 2,196,816, or about one fourth of the people of the kingdom; in Transylvania, 542,634; in the Servian Vovodine, 78,345; in Croatia and Slavonia, 4831; Silesia has 60,783; Bohemia, 90,000; Moravia, 52,140; Upper Austria, 18,511; Carinthia, 17,900; Lower Austria, 20,000; Styria, 5800; in the Tryol there are but 122; in Salzbourg, 176; in the other provinces of Galicia there are 24,880; in the Bukovina, 5280; in Senetia, 400; and in Dalmatia, 15.

THE GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS ASSOCIATION.—The income of this Society, the most popular among the religious societies of Germany, established to aid Protestant congregations in Roman Catholic countries, especially in Germany, is annually increasing. In 1857 its receipts were 101,000 thalers; in 1858, 107,000, and the last year, 130,000; in consequence of

which the number of Protestant churches and schools increases rapidly. The Roman Catholics have a society for a similar object to aid Catholic congregations in Protestant countries; but though the bishops warmly recommend it, and the press constantly presents its claims, and though the number of Romanists exceeds that of the Protestants, its income cannot be made to reach beyond 30,000 thalers.

THE RHENISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

—This Society, which was recently so sadly afflicted by the cruel massacre of some of their missionaries in Borneo by the Mohammedans, was formed among evangelical Christians of the Rhine provinces and Western Germany in 1828. In Africa it has 20 mission stations and 30 missionaries; 10 stations in Borneo, and missions in China, established in 1846.

THE ecclesiastical development of the Evangelical Church in Prussia is receiving the earnest attention of the Government. Instructions have been issued to the Church authorities providing for the formation of circuit-Synods (*Kreis-Synode*) or Synods, simply, as we should call them. It appears to be a carrying out of the Presbyterian polity to the letter, at least so far as it goes.

The Free Churches of Prussia, who are trying to avert their dissolution by an organization without any doctrinal basis, are discussing the question of a name for themselves. The Gotha convention proposed "Free Religious Congregations;" Rupp prefers "Free Evangelical Catholic Church," but Uhlich dissents.

Jan. 21st was the anniversary of the Berlin Society for the Jerusalem Bishopric, established in 1849. This Society received 4300 thlrs. the last year. The King and Queen of Prussia have given 1000 thlrs., and the Prince Regent 3000 for a deaconesses' house Jerusalem. The deaconesses' house in Smyrna now has 166 pupils. The Catholic Society

of the Holy Sepulchre in Munich has raised 10,000 thlrs. the past year; and another society 40,000 florins for a daily mass in Jerusalem for the political and religious union of Germany. The Emperor Napoleon has given 90,000 francs for a Catholic church in Jerusalem; and the Archduke Constantine of Russia 50,000 francs for Greek churches.

ECCLESIASTICAL CENSUS. — Every three years the ecclesiastical census is taken. A comparison of that of 1858 with 1849 shows a decided Protestant increase. In 1849 the Evangelical numbers were 10,016,798; in 1858, 10,861,905, or about 8½ per cent; in 1849 the Roman Catholics had 6,079,613; in 1858, 6,556,827, an increase of less than 8 per cent. This does not include Hohenzollern. The largest increase of Catholics was in Brandenburg, especially in Berlin, from 15,532 to 19,675; the Protestants in Berlin now number 423,977; the next largest Catholic increase was in Silesia.

PROTESTANT POLES IN PRUSSIA.—

The *Evangelical Christendom* contains an interesting article concerning the Protestant Poles in Prussia. Prussian Poland is a tract of land about eighty miles wide, from the south of Silesia to the neighborhood of Bromberg and Thorn. The number of Polish inhabitants of the district is upward of two millions. The number of Protestants in this province is about 250,000. They have regular ecclesiastical orders, with 100 parishes and 134 clergymen.

In Silesia there are 70,000 Protestant Poles, of whom 60,000 reside near the Russian frontier, 5000 near the Austrian line, and the residue are scattered. The character of these Silesian Protestant Poles is about the same as that of their brethren in Prussia Proper.

BELGIUM.—A few years ago there was but one Protestant or Evangelical church in Belgium. There are now between thirty and forty such churches, and a population of at least

ten thousand professed Protestants. This growth is the result of missionary efforts. The desire for evangelical laborers there, is extended on every side,

RUSSIA.—The population of the Russian empire was estimated at 65,200,000 in 1850. In 1858 it contained, as officially stated, only 5432 schools, with 136,318 pupils, of which 4982 fall to the universities, 300 to the lyceums, 24,270 to the high colleges, 28,358 to the provincial schools, 53,654 to the parochial schools, 24,036 to the private establishments, and 3538 to the Hebrew schools. Besides these, there were in the district of Warsaw, 76,059 students and pupils, in 1451 schools. So that the entire amount of pupils in Russia and Poland is 210,030, in 3883 schools.

ITALY.—The extravagant pretensions as to the temporal power of the Pope were avowed in the boldest form in an address presented to him at the Roman University, Feb. 14, in which it is declared "that the temporal power of the Pope was instituted by Christ, and is therefore unchangeable and eternal." This proposition has not in its favor even the canon law, and still less the consent of the doctors of the Church: it has even at times been declared heretical. Several of the professors refused to sign this address; among them Carlo Passaglia, Christian Professor of Philosophy, well known by his able works in church history; Giovanni Perugini, Prof. of Canon law, etc. The latter is reported to have declared, "that the proposition, that the temporal power is divine (*hoc regimen divinitus datum*), is false, and condemned by the Church as heretical."

THE TRUTH SPREADING.—A clergyman from Boston, now in Florence, writes that the Bible is for sale in every bookshop and bookstall in the city, and that a society of Italian's, numbering 500 on the Sabbath, and 200 on week-days, meets publicly every evening for the study of the

Scriptures, conducted by the voluntary action of the members, with extempore prayers in Italian, and careful and reverential study of the Scriptures. He says: there are whole villages recognized as Protestant, where the scandalous lives of the priests had dissatisfied the people, who had put themselves in communication with the Protestants of Florence, and by studying the Scriptures were making their way to the Protestant faith. Large numbers of Bibles are now distributed in Florence, and translations of Protestant religious works are in demand; among the latter are the Pilgrim's Progress, the Westminster Assembly's Catechism, and the Philosophy of the Plan of Salvation.

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.—Full religious liberty for all Protestants has been proclaimed by the legislative assemblies of Parma, Modena, Tuscany, and the Legations. Naples, Venetia, and the Papal States remain now the only Italian States in which the free organization of Protestant congregations is still forbidden or impeded.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—Dr. Hoffman, General Superintendent of Berlin, gives a summary of the Lutheran and other Protestant churches in Italy. The church of the Prussian Embassy in Rome was founded by Frederick William III.: it has had the services of Tholuck, Thiele, Rothe, etc. Heintz is the present preacher. No inscription referring to Christ or taken from the Bible is allowed to be put upon the graves of those members who are buried at Rome. In Naples is an evangelical church of 200 to 300 families and 700 to 800 persons, also connected with the German Embassy. Remy is the present German preacher; a French preacher is also connected with it. The English embassy also has a chaplain and services. In Sicily no regular German church is allowed; in Messina there are about 100 German and Swiss Protestants, who sometimes have a private service; in Palermo is an English chapel. In Florence a church has been attached to

the Prussian embassy, since 1827; Schaffter, the present preacher, holds service in German, French, and Italian: about 800 persons belong to it. The English chapel has a large attendance. At Leghorn is a church (Dutch-German) over 200 years old, of about 250 persons; Detroit is the preacher. In Modena there are about 1000 Protestants; in Parma, 300; in Bologna, 40; in Ancona, 44; and a few in Reggio. In Milan there are 400 to 500 evangelical Swiss and Germans; they called a pastor in 1848, by the name of Kind, and he still remains. In Bergamo there has been a church for over 50 years; it now has about 200 French and Swiss. In Venice there has been a church, as in Leghorn, for over 200 years; about 400 belong to it; the service is private. In Trieste are 1600 Protestants.—*Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*.

INCREASE OF ROMAN SEES.—It appears from official returns, in the Almanac for 1860, which has just appeared at Rome, that the number of Roman Catholic Bishoprics in the world amounts to 850, exclusive of ninety Apostolic Vicarships and several Prefectures. Pius IX. has created eighty new Dioceses. Besides those in Holland and England, he has created eleven in the United States, one in California, one in Newfoundland, two in Canada, one in Mexico, three in Brazil, two in other parts of South America, two in Naples, one in Hungary, one in Tuscany, two in the French Antilles, at Martinique and Guadeloupe, one at Reunion, and one at Laval, in France.

INDEPENDENT CATHOLIC CHURCHES.—The anti-papal church-reforming movement in Italy is steadily progressing. Recent letters from Piedmont say that a scheme for establishing an independent Catholic church, governed by a Synod of Bishops, under the superintendence of the King, is clandestinely and noiselessly prepared, and probably will come to light when all preparatory steps shall be finished.

PAPAL MISSIONARIES.—The *Annals*

of the Propagation of the Faith, for November, announces that seven missionaries left Paris, July 10, to embark at Havre, the next day, for China; and that "four others will set out next month for India and the Burman Empire."

BOHEMIA.—A grand religious movement is going on in Prague and other cities of Bohemia. Conversions to the Gospel have been numerous. Roman Catholic parish priests preach the pure Gospel. The Bible is extensively circulated. The people insist that worship shall be celebrated in the vulgar tongue. All events seem to show that Bohemia—that ancient focus of reform, where four centuries of persecution have failed to put out the light of the gospel, is about to make a new advance in Christian truth.—*La Buona Novella*.

POLAND.—In several districts, from which official reports have been received, the number of the Protestants are reported as on the increase, in comparison with the Catholic. In the Masuric district there was in 1849, 16,423 Catholics, and 346,870 Evangelicals; in 1858, 16,393 Catholics, and 384,658 Evangelicals. In Posen the Evangelical party are about one third of the population; yet in the same period they have increased 41,950, while the Catholics number only 27,929 more.—*Neue Evang. Kirchenzeitung*.

SWITZERLAND.—The controversy between the rationalistic and evangelical parties in German Switzerland is increasing. The last phase of it is a discussion about a book for religious instruction in schools, written by Prof. Biedermann, in which the positive doctrines of Christianity are ignored. Prof. Hagenbach in Basle, in the *Kirchenblatt für die reformirte Schweiz*, advocates the evangelical interest. The Geneva Société des Protestants dissimulés had, in 1859, an income of 18,500 francs; the Miss. Soc. 21,000; the Bible Soc. 7596. Last year 48 Roman Catholics of Geneva became Protestant.

RELIGIOUS INTEREST AT BASLE.—The Rev. Mr. Hebich, who long labored as a missionary in India, has been addressing large audiences, ranging from two to three thousand persons on religious subjects. He is said to be an earnest preacher, and his sermons have excited considerable sensation in the district. A correspondent of the *Semaine Religieuse*, writing from Basle, says that the religious movement in that place is extending more and more; but at the same time, the opposition of its adversaries is also increasing—so much so, that in one of the last sittings of the Great Council, that body was solicited to interdict Mr. Hebich from again preaching in the churches of Basle—but a majority refused to entertain the proposition. Mr. Hebich preaches every day, sometimes more than once.

THE BASLE MISSIONARY INSTITUTION.—The Rev. Mr. Spitler, of Basle, gives the following sketch of the mission institution there: "About five miles from Basle, upon a hill about 1500 feet from the level of the sea, there stood an old church in an almost ruinous state; and as often as certain persons went up to this place, they felt grieved in their hearts that such a lovely place, and such a beautifully situated church, should be utterly useless. And they desired and prayed to the Lord that this place might, if possible, be dedicated to the service of Christ; and in the year 1839 and 1840, an application was made to the Government of Basle, that this church might be set apart and used for missionary purposes. The application was granted; and from that time till the present, now 19 years, this church has been employed for the training of students for missionary labors in distant parts of the world."

EARLY MORAVIAN MISSIONS.—A monument has been erected (Oct. 6, 1859) to commemorate the Moravian missions at Shekomeko and Wechquadnack. The Shekomeko mission began Aug. 16, 1740, by Christian Henry Rauch. The monument com-

memorates the Mohican Indians, Lazara, baptized Dec. 1, 1742, died Dec. 5, 1747, and Daniel, baptized Dec. 26, 1742, died Mar. 20, 1744; also the missionary Gottlob Büttner, born Dec. 29, 1716, died Feb. 28, 1745. The Wechquadnack monument bears the name of David Bruce, from Scotland, who died at W., July 9, 1749, and Joseph Powell, from England (born 1710), who died at Sicheim, in the Oblong, Duchess Co., N. Y., Sept. 23, 1744. The missions of the Moravian brethren, who, since 1727, have been devoted to the spread of the gospel among the heathen, have advanced from year to year. The number of the Moravian Christians does not exceed 20,000, but they contributed last year \$300,000 to the support of their missionaries. They have fourteen missions; in Greenland, Labrador, the Danish Antilles, St. Croix, Jamaica, Antigua, St. Kitts, Barbadoes, Tobago, the Mosquitos, Surinam, South Africa, Thibet, and Australia, where 312 missionaries are laboring, whose influence reaches about 73,000 souls.

SWEDEN.—The London *Quarterly Review* says that a religious movement of a wonderful character commenced in Sweden several years ago, in some parishes on the Russian frontier, and has silently spread over the whole country. Dalecarlia, Skania, and that part of Finland which borders immediately on Russia, are the principal scenes of the work. Small meetings for prayer and reading, conducted almost entirely by laymen, are everywhere largely attended. The lowest estimate places the number of "converts," or as they are termed in Sweden "readers," at 250,000 out of a population of 3,500,000. The morality of these people is remarkable. The awakening has pervaded all classes, and is extending among the nobility and the wealthy. Instances of sudden "conversions" are not unfrequent, and the "divine impulse" has been so irresistibly felt in the midst of secular engagements, or in the streets, as to lead people to

fall on their knees and cry for mercy. In other instances, persons have been compelled to retire from parties overcome with emotion and penitential tears, which contrasted strangely with their splendid dresses and jewels. On the whole, however, the awakening proceeded quietly; and until the opposition of some of the Swedish clergy attracted attention to it, was scarcely heard of in England.

SCANDINAVIA.—The Methodist Episcopal Church has 163 members at Frederikshall, 70 at Porsgrund, 200 at Sarpsburg, with smaller numbers at Copenhagen, Eningdalen and Frederiksdag. The Baptists in Sweden number 3479, in 68 congregations. In Denmark there are 3 Free Lutheran churches. The Free Apostolic Church of Norway, founded by Lammers, is also increasing.

SPAIN.—Signor Martin Esculante, after eight months' incarceration, has been condemned to nine years' imprisonment for circulating the Scriptures in Spain. He was born in Gibraltar, and is consequently claimed to be a British subject. Lord John Russell interposed in his behalf without effect. A meeting was held at Edinburgh, Jan. 23, in which addresses were made by Drs. Guthrie and Alexander, and strong resolutions proposed.

GREECE.—The Rev. Dr. King, Missionary to Greece, writes to the American Board, under date at Athens, Dec. 29th, that believing the years of his pilgrimage on the earth to be nearly numbered, he has been laboring to finish the work which has been given him to do. In addition to his regular service in Greek, he has been occupied in printing five volumes of his own writings, one in French, and four in modern Greek. He has sold large numbers of the New Testament and Ten Commandments in modern Greek, and has in press a new edition of Baxter's *Saints' Rest*, in the same language. His trial before the Greek authorities, on several charges, was to take place during the present month.

INDIA.—EARLY MISSIONS TO INDIA.—Dr. Wayland, in his *Life of Judson*, says that before any missionaries were sent out from this country, "the interest of our churches in missions to the East was from time to time quickened by the arrival of missionaries from England, on their way to India, or on their return home, as at that time, *they could not obtain passage in any of the ships of the East India Company.*" He says: "I well remember, in my boyhood, the temporary residence of such missionaries in New York, and the deep interest which their presence occasioned in all the churches in that city."

REV. DR. DUFF writes to George H. Stuart, Esq., that meetings for prayer, in Calcutta, were crowded, in which were signal indications of a glorious revival. The convictions awakened in many minds were overpowering. Persons smitten down by the power of the Spirit, as in Ireland, were carried from the meetings.

A STEP TOWARDS THE LIGHT.—Large assemblies of Hindoos, all of high and many of the highest caste, have lately taken place in many parts of India, to praise and thank God for the restoration of peace. They no longer worship the gods of their forefathers; and their prayers, some of which have been published in the Bombay papers, show the progress which the enlightened Hindoos have made under the influence of English education, and give ground of hope for the rapid advancement of Christianity in that country.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN INDIA.—The Roman Catholic church are putting forth great efforts to diffuse their religion throughout the East, where they formerly had very flourishing missions. The whole peninsula of India, Siam, Pegu, Ava, and the Malayan peninsula, are divided into twenty dioceses, in which are 22 bishops, 802 priests, and a nominal Catholic population of 968,656.

LORD STANLEY, late Secretary of State for India, sent out an order warning all British officers against compromising their official character by giving aid and countenance to missionary efforts. Sir Charles Wood, the present Secretary, has expressed himself in a more worthy manner to a deputation that waited upon him. His words were: "No persons can be more anxious for the spread of Christianity in India than we are. Independently of Christian considerations, I believe every additional Christian in India is an additional bond of union with this country, and an additional source of strength to the empire. There are political reasons in favor of spreading Christianity." Lord Palmerston, too, indorses the same sentiments: "It is not only our duty," he says, "but it is our interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity, as far as possible, throughout the whole length and breadth of India." Sir Charles Wood has replied to the anti-missionary memorial from Madras, denying its requests.

REMARKABLE DONATION.—News has been received from Bombay, of a contribution of 5000 rupees, to be distributed amongst four missionary societies laboring in China, from a late inspector of opium, in the Malwa district, being part of the proceeds of his former employment, which he had resigned in consequence of conscientious objections at having been connected with supplying the Chinese with so pernicious a drug.

AHMEDNUGGER.—Mr. Ballantine in a recent letter says: "The mission has just determined to form a class of native assistants at Ahmednuggur, who shall pursue a course of study preparatory to becoming preachers, and eventually pastors. This class is to be instructed only through the vernacular. Eight persons have been fixed upon by the mission to form the class, all of whom have been tried as Christians for two or three years, and some of whom have been, for several years, native assistants." They are

to study three years, seven months in the year, and while pursuing their studies at Ahmednuggur, are to spend at least every alternate Sabbath in preaching at some neighboring village. Four persons were received to the church at Ahmednuggur, October 30. But the most important intelligence from this field, relates to highly favorable decisions of government, of which a full account may be found in the *Missionary Herald* for March. One decision is, that the Christians have the right to take water from any of the public fountains or tanks of the city. Mr. Ballantine says of this document: "It takes very strong ground. It declares that, according to the Hindoo Shasters, the caste of the ruler is equal to the highest; and thus, at one stroke of pen, places the native Christians, no matter from what caste they may have come, at as high an elevation as the highest Brahmin." "The importance of the matter is to be found in the fact that, hereafter, the Christian convert is to be treated as belonging to the very highest class, and as entitled to all the privileges which other high classes enjoy." The other is an order in reference to the admission of pupils from low castes into the Government schools. "In reply to a letter from the mission on the subject, the Educational Inspector states, that the Government have determined that pupils from the lower castes may be admitted into all schools entirely supported by government. Where the school is supported in part by the State and in part by popular subscriptions, Government reserve to themselves the right to make the admission of such children a condition of their contributing, hereafter, to the establishment of such schools. He adds, that the Government undoubtedly do consider native Christian children as entitled to the same privileges as the children of Mohammedans, and other classes who do not regard caste."

CEYLON.—Sir Emerson Tennent in his recent account of Ceylon, gives the population at 1,697,975, exclud-

ing 20,500 military and strangers. The white population numbers only 4815. Of the native population, 805,537 are females and 887,573 males; and this, though polyandry is widely practised, and has been from the earliest times. Formerly the custom was universal. Women belonging to the wealthier classes often have three or four husbands, and sometimes as many as seven. Yet the proportion of males and females is preserved about as nearly as in European countries. In England and Wales there was (1831) an excess of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of females; in France, 3 per cent of males; in Ceylon, 5 per cent of males.

TURKEY.—THE TURKS GIVING EAR TO THE GOSPEL.—A correspondent of *The Independent*, writing from Constantinople, February 13th, gives a cheering picture of the progress of the Gospel among the Turks. The Protestants are now constituted a distinct sect, by order of the Sultan. By this act, they have all the civil rights that are enjoyed by the Greeks, Armenians, or any other Christian sect; so that, if a person from any of the nominal Christian sects now becomes a true follower of Christ, he loses no civil rights thereby, but simply leaves one sect and joins another, having equal rights in each. In describing a missionary service conducted by Rev. Dr. Schauffler, he says: "It was my privilege to be present, and though a stormy evening, ten native born Turks, or rather Mohammedans (two being Persians) were present. Of this ten, one was a colonel in the Turkish army, and whose sister is wife of the Shah of Persia. One was a Persian Sheik of great wealth and influence in his own country. One was an officer in the royal palace, a member of the Sultan's household. One was a nephew of a Pasha, who had been disowned and cast off by his relatives because he had become a Christian. And one was, a few months ago, an Imân (priest) in one of the mosques of the city, an old man, seventy years

old, and who was baptized four weeks since. With eyes fixed on the speaker, they listened with breathless attention to the end of the lecture. It was a sight worth coming six thousand miles to see."

PROGRESS OF THE GOSPEL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.—A religious movement, which has Omer Effendi for its promoter, has begun at Constantinople, and gives much hope to the Christians. This venerable old man has declared for some years back the necessity of a regeneration of Islamism, and he has formed a large company of partisans. Without naming the Bible as the source of his knowledge, he has taught his disciples from it the most essential principles, and that which is the foundation of it—the incarnation of Jesus Christ. He has taught them in the words of the Scriptures, for his pupils, without having read the New Testament, nevertheless repeat passages from it word for word. At the beginning of last year this man was suspected by the Turkish authorities, and banished to Broussa. His pupils were punished by the police without being accused of any infraction of the law. Although deprived of their professor, they meet together for edification, and have invited the Turkish missionary, Selim Effendi, to assist at their reunions. A spirit of prayer reigns at these meetings. The assistants read the Bible with avidity, and are indefatigable in their questions touching salvation. Omer Effendi, who is not closely confined at Broussa, has entered into communication with the Armenian pastors, and has testified to them the joy he felt at learning that his old pupils read the New Testament. At the present time attempts are being made to recall him from exile; but, on the other hand, new accusations and persecutions are put forth against him and his pupils. May God bless the movement, the first of the kind in the history of Islamism!—*Archives du Christianisme*.

A LARGE SABBATH-SCHOOL.—One

of the largest Sabbath-schools in the world is now to be found at Aintab, which has been occupied as a mission-station of the American Board about 12 years. The school, connected with the Protestant church there, was re-organized in December, 1858, and in October, 1859, Mr. Coffing, one of the missionaries wrote: "Since the first of February last the average attendance has been more than nine hundred, and on not a few Sabbaths, more than one thousand have been present, participating in the lessons!"

NORTHERN ARMENIANS.—Mr. Schauler still reports many cases of interest among Mohammedans. In another letter, he speaks of the late conspiracy as having been brought about by "the multitudes of literary idlers, in the shape of professors, lecturers, students, and other loafers," connected with the mosques and dervish establishments. He states that Government is taking efficient measures to reduce the power of these establishments.

BULGARIA.—We continue to receive very significant information from our brethren in Bulgaria, showing that the same religious process is going on among the Bulgarians in Turkey, north of the Balkan Mountains, as has been going on in Turkey, among the Armenians in Asia, and at Constantinople for a quarter of a century, through the missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. We have undoubted information that there are the same signs of promise among the Bulgarians south of the Balkan Mountains, in the vicinity of Adrianople and Phillipopolis, two cities occupied by the American Board. The signs of promise among the Bulgarians in European Turkey are very cheering, and the influence of Protestantism heretofore, by their intercourse with Hungary and other parts of Europe, is a material element in our missionary prospects among the Bulgarians. Their antipathy to the Greek service and ecclesiastical dominion is increas-

ing, and they begin to understand the privileges and liberty of Protestantism when they hear our missionaries preaching the Gospel to them in their own language; and they admire and feel the power of the simplicity and directness of the forms of Protestant worship.—*Adv. and Jour.*

EFFECT OF GOSPEL TEACHING.—A committee of ten influential young Bulgarians, who have listened to the Gospel as it has been preached by the Methodist missionaries connected with the new mission among that people, recently visited the Archbishop to remonstrate with him upon his licentious and disgraceful life, by which, they mildly but firmly informed him, the whole community felt aggrieved and humiliated. Such was their character and standing, that he did not dare to drive them away, and in reply could only accuse them of having frequently visited the American missionaries. This they frankly admitted, stating that they intended to do so, as they had received such counsels and instruction from them as they had a right to expect from him, and that for the first time they had heard the Gospel in its simplicity and purity.

SYRIA.—A letter from Mr. Benton, dated December 5, mentions a visit of Hon. James Williams, United States Ambassador at Constantinople, to Syria. Mr. Benton says this visit led to a pleasant settlement of the difficulty growing out of his expulsion from Zahleh, and adds: "Indeed, all the entanglements of every case, at Jaffa, Damascus, and Zahleh, seemed to disappear at his presence, and the impression of his visit is peace every where."

NESTORIAN MISSION.—The *Missionary Herald*, for April, contains a letter from Mr. Cochran, who succeeded the lamented Stoddart in the charge of the seminary for young men at Oroomiah, giving an account of a general meeting of the alumni. Personally or by proxy the whole number of graduates (62) were represented. Various subjects of interest were

discussed. Of these 62 graduates, 56 are now members of the church. Two or three of the remaining six are also indulging hopes. Forty of the whole number are laboring as preachers in their respective villages, and 15 others are employed as teachers and preachers a portion of the year. They are generally young men of good abilities, having been selected from a large number of candidates, and many of them are distinguished for ardent and decided piety. Altogether, they are a group of young men from whose instrumentality and influence we may expect much for the elevation and salvation of this people. The occasion was one long to be remembered by them, and we cannot doubt all pressed the parting hand with better purposes, and higher resolves for usefulness. The afternoon of the second day was devoted to the examination and ordination of six of the young men, as evangelists and pastors of their respective flocks.

JAPAN.—The missionaries sent out by the Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches of this country, have found no obstacles to establishing themselves in Japan, so long closed against Christian teachers. Two temples were cleared of their idols and rented to them. The mayor of Nagasaki visited the missionaries, and asked them many questions about their religion, and accepted a copy of the New Testament in Chinese.

CHINA.—Mr. Johns, of the London Missionary Society, wrote from Shanghai, September 3: "The defeat sustained by our forces at Pei-ho, on the 25th of June, has had a most pernicious effect upon the mind of the people at large. They imagine, now, that it would be easy to drive us into the sea, and that our future stay hangs upon their good pleasure. The people who, but three months ago, were as harmless as doves, and very respectful, are now as bold as lions, and often intolerably impudent. The worst feature in the whole is, that the people associate

the coolie trade, and the imaginary work of kidnapping, with the Christian religion. Here in Shanghai, a number of placards have been posted up denouncing the religion of Jesus, exhorting the people not to enter the church, and calling upon those who have already entered to repent and leave ere it be too late. Some of these placards are written in a most malignant style."

Letters from missionaries of the Presbyterian Board at Ningpo, convey the pleasing intelligence of a continued work of grace at San-poh. Three persons had recently been received to the church at that place. The native Christians at this station are represented as improving in Christian grace, and it is believed that a spirit of inquiry is being waked up in several of the surrounding villages. The native Christians left at Hangchow are going forward with their work. It will not be best for any European resident to go there until the pending difficulties with England are settled. Mr. Inslee gives an account of a most interesting case of conversion, in an officer of the government, who had for four years been secretly reading the Bible, and every religious book and tract he could get his hands on, but had been wanting in courage to avow his religious belief until very recently.

AMOY.—Mr. Doty, of the Reformed Dutch Board, writes from Amoy, September 20, 1859: "We are still enjoying precious tokens that the Lord is near, and that his mercies fail not. Indeed, I would not dare to say that there has been any time, for six past years, when there was no evidence that the Holy Spirit was working with the Gospel. On the 4th ultimo, two men were baptized and welcomed to church fellowship, at Chioh-be; and last Sabbath it was our privilege to receive five more to the company of disciples here." "But it is not all encouragement we meet, free from trials. Recently we have been called to exercise discipline in the case of two or three individuals, and all for the same

offence, a return to the use of that fearful scourge of the poor Chinese—opium.”

AFRICA. ECCLESIASTICAL STATISTICS:

	Rom. Cath.	Prot. estants	Chris- tians.
Cape of Good Hope,.....	10,000	250,000	261,000
Other English Possessions,.....	133,000	400,000	534,000
French Possessions,.....	439,000	..	140,000
Portuguese Possessions,.....	12,000	..	439,000
Spanish,.....	100,000	..	12,000
Angola, Benguela, Mozambique,.....	160,000	10,000	100,000
Algers (1857),.....	97,000	2,000	170,000
Egypt,.....	30,000	..	260,000
Abyssinia,.....	..	50,000	8,000,000
Liberia,.....	200	..	50,000
Morocco and Fez,.....	10,000
Tunis and Tripolia,.....
	1,051,200	712,000	4,960,000

—Prof. Schem's Ecclesiastical Year-Book.

MISSIONS IN AFRICA. —From an address of Bishop Payne, who has spent twenty-five years in Africa, at a recent missionary meeting in New-York, we glean the following facts:

“Successful missionary efforts have been prosecuted in Africa only from the beginning of the present century. Sierra Leone has 20 foreign missionaries, 30 native African clergymen, over 100 native catechists and assistants of various grades, and 700 or 800 communicants. Four hundred miles above are missions of the English Wesleyans and Baptists. Forty miles down the coast are the American Presbyterians; one hundred and fifty miles further down is Liberia, extending for six hundred miles along the coast, including Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopal missions, all but the last being colonists. They have 9000 communicants. The Episcopal missions were established in 1836, on Christmas day, by Dr. Savage, and their field covers 300 miles of coast

and 90 miles in the interior. There are 4 foreign missionaries and 8 female assistants, 6 ordained African clergymen, 8 candidates for orders, 30 catechists of different grades, 6 regularly built churches with regular service maintained, 300 to 400 communicants, and preaching to over 100,000. Extensive publications of missionary works have been made in the native tongues. The worship, manufacture and preservation of idols have greatly decreased. In the vicinity of Cape Palmas, vast missionary labors have resulted in wide-spread and efficient stations. The natives have been made the instruments of propagating the gospel to a great extent—no less than 200 different tribes were represented at Sierra Leone. In the vicinity of the Gambia and the Congo there are numerous stations, so that in the region of the slave-coast and gold-coast 25 dialects have been reduced to writing, 100 buildings erected, 16,000 school-children cared for, 15,000 communicants enrolled, and the gospel preached to from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 Africans.”

WEST AFRICA. — Letters from Mr. Bushnell, of the Gaboon mission, are of a character to enlist the sympathies and prayers of the churches in behalf of the missionaries so often suffering from illness, and so tried by the conduct of the people for whom they labor. He has himself been seriously ill, and he writes: “The field has become a French colony, and French power and influence are extending; and with the demoralizing influences of what is termed ‘free emigration,’ the increase of trade, and consequently the increase of intemperance, the people are wasting away, and becoming less accessible to Christian influences. Unexpected hindrances to our advance into the interior have been met, the climate does not prove to be as salubrious as we had expected, and our success, in visible results, has not been particularly encouraging. But aside from the insalubrious nature of the climate, the greatest discouragement we meet is from the fickleness of

native character and the lack of stability in those who profess to be Christians. Recently we have had a most painful case of apostasy. There seems not to be moral stamina enough in most native converts to withstand the temptations and adverse influences to which they are exposed, when withdrawn from the direct influence of the missionaries."

On the Western coast of Africa missions are now established all along from Senegal to Gaboon, and over 100 Christian churches are organized, into which more than 15,000 hopeful converts have been gathered. No less than 16,000 native youth are now receiving an education in the schools connected with these missions; and more than 20 different dialects have been studied out and reduced to writing.

AFRICA AS A MISSIONARY FIELD. — Rev. J. T. Bowen, missionary of the Southern Baptist Board in Africa, says the Africans are the most docile, friendly, heart-winning people on the globe. To the missionary they are doubly interesting, because of the intense eagerness with which they often listen to the gospel. No missionary has been even for a few days in an interior town without preaching to deeply interested people; and no one has preached for two or three months without gaining some converts. He has known cases of those who believed under the first sermon, and has met with people from the remote interior who believed in Christ and renounced idolatry, from hearing missionaries only a few times, nearer the coast.

A HEAVY CONTRIBUTION. — At a meeting in behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Abbeokuta, a collection was taken, which was as much as eight men could carry, each calabash, when filled, being emptied on the floor near the pulpit. The collection amounted to nearly \$:00, a large portion of it consisting of cowries, a kind of small shell which the

natives pass as money, over 170,000 of which were contributed.

Mr. Mackey, of the Presbyterian Board, writes from Corisco: "The indications of the continued presence of the Holy Spirit among the people here, are in the highest degree encouraging. There is no abatement in the interest manifested in divine things. In the catechism class there are now about 50 who are candidates for baptism. Among these are several men with their wives. Yesterday, which was the Sabbath, our meetings were full, and in the evening, crowded. Our Sabbath-school at Evangasimba, in the afternoon, numbered over 70 children and adults."

MADAGASCAR. — In spite of the determined efforts of the Queen of Madagascar to exterminate Christianity upon that island, the churches continue to grow. Though the severe decrees against Christians are unrelaxed, and many believers in Christ are suffering poverty, imprisonment, and slavery, it is gratifying to learn that the sanguinary laws have not been enforced upon *new* victims. Christian missionaries and foreigners are forbidden access to the island, and communication with the persecuted Christians is almost impossible; but notwithstanding their long-continued and still impending persecutions, the number of believers continues to increase, and the churches, both in the capital and in different parts of the island, are multiplied.

POLYNESIA. — There are over 7000 native Christians among the 50,000 inhabitants of the islands of Polynesia, whose free-will offerings for missions in the other islands for the last year amounted to \$5595. Their schools for training teachers and evangelists contained about 100 students. All the native pastors are supported by the people. The wife of a missionary in the Feejee islands recently translated the Pilgrim's Progress into the dialect of the quondam cannibals.